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THE
ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI

36531

EDITED & TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LATE ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU

VOL. I

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पुनर्मद्रणयोजनायां प्रकाशितः ।

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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., G. C.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

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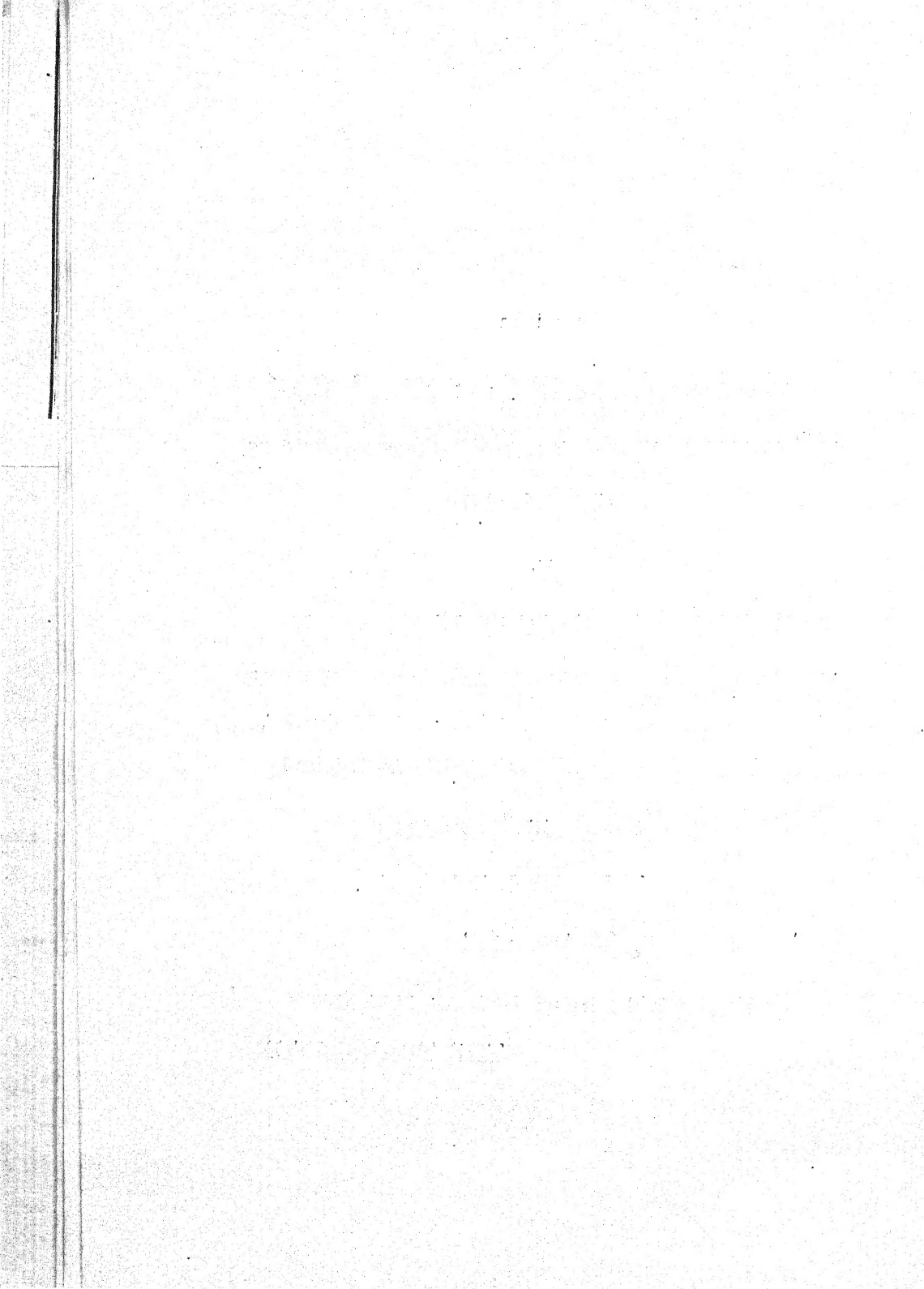
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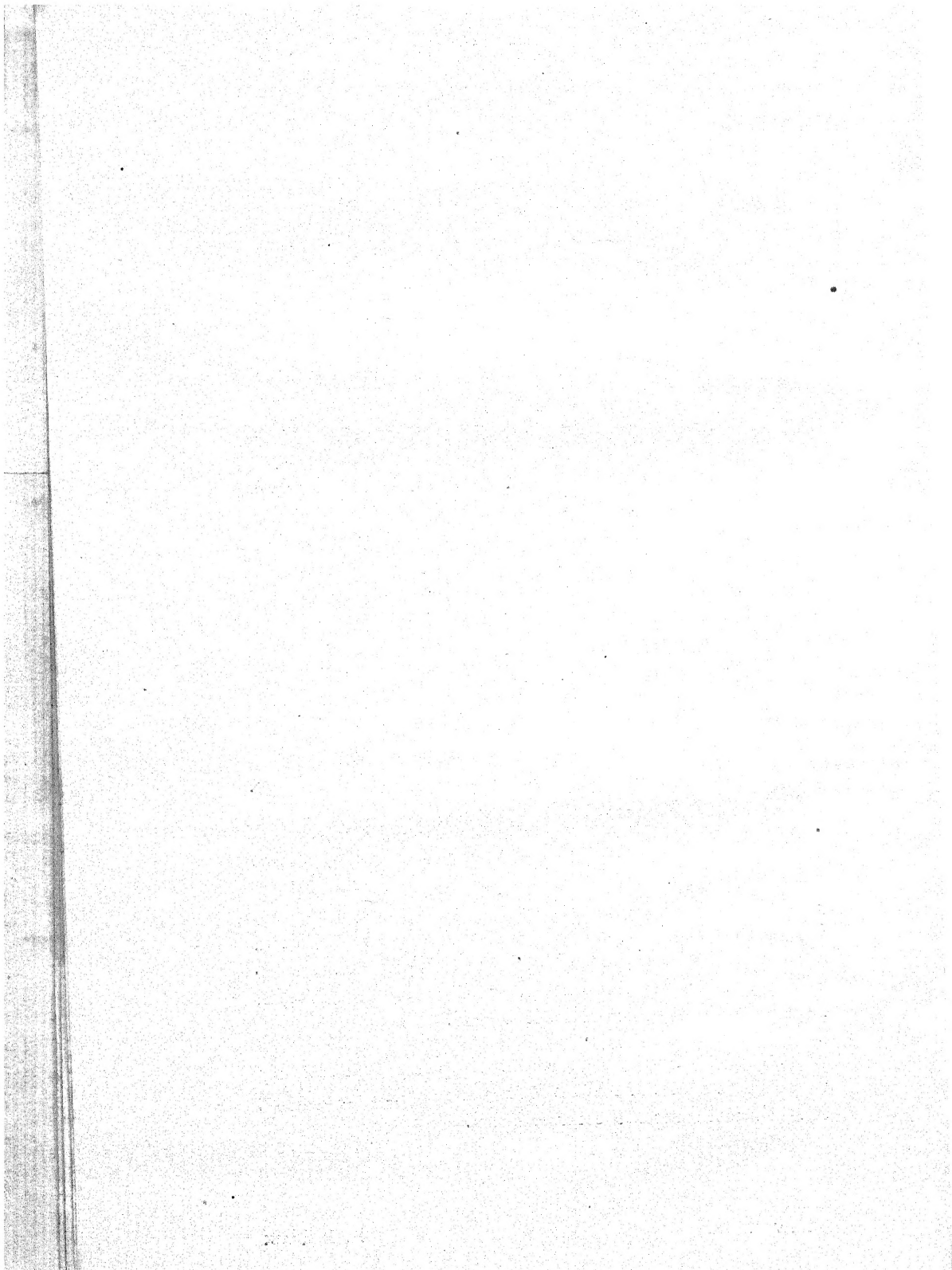
FOREWORD

Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī represents the first attempt in the history of the world to describe and analyse the components of a language on scientific lines. It can be rightly said to be a monument of a perfected art whose chief interest lies not in what the described material should be but in what it is. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Aṣṭādhyāyī has not only been universally acclaimed as the first and foremost specimen of Descriptive Grammar but has also been the chief source of inspiration of linguists engaged in describing languages all the world over.

Brevity, it is said, is the soul of wit and it is not surprising that the most cherished objective of the descriptive grammarian, according to Patañjali, should be the brevity underlying such description. The Paṇinian tradition stands unsurpassed in the greatest economy of words in describing linguistic features.

The Paṇini Office, Allahabad brought out an edition of the work with the English translation of the text and a free rendering of Kāśīkavṛtti by the late S.C. Vasu towards the close of the last century. As the edition has long been out of print and its want was being felt by scholars in India and abroad, the Ministry of Education have sponsored the reprinting of the book under their "Scheme of reprinting of important out-of-print Sanskrit works".

I hope, the reprint will be widely welcomed in the scholarly world. The efforts of Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass in bringing out this work deserve commendation.



PREFACE

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and fulness with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads &c, it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary called the *Kāśikā*. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of *Kāśikā* it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of the book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it when

necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the *Kāśika* in the original.

The *Ashtādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *pādas* or chapters. It has thus been found suitable to publish the work in 32 parts without causing any inconvenience to the reader. The complete work will cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing and publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense. We are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage so that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

The rates of its subscription are as follow :—

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, C. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Pānini Office }
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

THE
ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

ओ३न् परमात्मने नमः

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

Now an explanation of words.

The term अथ “now” in the sūtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुशासन means explanation of any system. This is an अधिकार sūtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sūtra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or ‘a definition,’ परिभाषा or the ‘key to interpretation,’ विधि or ‘the statement of a general rule,’ नियम or ‘a restrictive rule,’ अधिकार or ‘a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,’ and अतिदेश or ‘extended application by analogy.’

The Pratyāhāra Sūtras.

अइउण् । ऋलृक् । एओङ् । ऐऔच् । हयवरट् । लण् । जसङणनम् ।
क्षप्तञ् । घटथष् । जवगङ्दश् । खफळठयचटतव् । कपय् । शषसर् । हल् ॥

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvāra and the visarga, the jihvā-mulīya and the upadh māniya are not contained in the above list. The final अ in the consonants ह, य &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as ण्, क्, इ &c., are non-efficient or इत्. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not a non-efficient letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 42 pratyāhāras ; as given below :—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छव् । अह् ॥ झप् । भष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् । अण् । इण् । यण् । अम् ।
बम् । ङम् । अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । ऋय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् ।
हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् ॥

The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sūtra क्षण् and in the first अइउण्. There arises consequently

the doubt, whether the pratyāhāras अच् and उच् when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the च् of the former or with the उच् of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अच् and उच् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣā :—

“The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite.”

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अच् except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the च् of the first sūtra and that the term उच् is formed by means of the उच् of the subsequent sūtra.

—:0:—

ओ३म्

पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER FIRST.

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैच् वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भाषितानामतद्भाषितानां च ॥

1. आ, ऐ and औ are called *vṛiddhi*.

This defines the word *vṛiddhi*. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are *vṛiddhi* letters. The *sūtra* consists of three words *vṛiddhi*, *ât* and *aich*. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the *pratyâhâra* aich, and the *pratyâhâra* ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two *mâtrâs* or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two *mâtrâs* only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate *mâtrâs* may be more than two. A short vowel has one *mâtrâ*, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a *mâtrâ*. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as महा + आशयः = महाशयः. Here हा has two *mâtrâs* and not four. So also in खट्वैडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ऐ has only two, not four, *mâtrâs*.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are *vṛiddhi* forms of their primitive vowels. आङ्गः "bodily", from अङ्गः 'body' ऐच्छिकः "optional", from इच्छा "option"; औपगवः "the son of Upagu", from the word उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शास्त्रीयः "belonging to the house" the आ is radical, and is also called *vṛiddhi*. The word *vṛiddhi* occurs in *sūtras* like सिचिवृद्धपरस्मैपदेषु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इक् of the base get *vṛiddhi* substitute before the affix सिच् of the *Parasmaipada*".

अदङ् गुणः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्-एङ्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमदङ् वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भाषितानामतद्भाषितानां च ॥

2. अ, ए and ओ are called *guṇa*.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a *guṇa* letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अस्ति, "he

moves"; एति "he comes", अतोति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots कृ, इ, and उक् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like निदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root निद् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि॥ इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिगुणौ स्वसंज्ञया (वृद्ध्या गुणेन वा) विध्यमाणाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यौ ॥

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever guṇa or vṛiddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ri, and ṛi long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhāṣhā sūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vṛiddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthâni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikah" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of कृ or कृ is अर्, of लृ is अल्; and their Vṛiddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + अति = ने + अति = नयति "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, there the word "ikah" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik", is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term अङ्ग or 'base':—निदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82) वृजेर्वृद्धिः (VII. 2. 114) पुगन्तलघूपध &c., (VII. 3. 86); ऋच्छत्यृताम् (VII. 4. 11) ऋश्चोऽङिगुणः (VII. 4. 16) स्थूलदूरयुव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word ânga or base, जुसि च (VII. 3. 83), सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (VII. 3. 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sūtra to show that the long आ, एच् or the diphthongs and हल् or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vṛiddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् "a carriage", ग्लायति "he feels aversion," उम्भिता "confined."

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिप्, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शप्, to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै + शप् + तिप् = ग्लै + अ + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sârvadhâtuka termination अ; the guṇa substitute of ऐ being ए, there would be ग्लै + अति = ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter ऐ, being not included in the pratyâhâra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + ल्युट् (III. 3. 115) = यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into अ, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as आ is not an इक् vowel. So also उम्भ + इता = उम्भिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant भ्.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vṛiddhi in this sūtra, though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sūtra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—द्यौः "sky", पन्थाः "way" सः "he," इमम् "this." द्यौः is the nominative singular of the base दिव्. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that "in the nominative singular the letter द्यौ takes the place of दिव्." Here the letter द्यौ is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, द्यौ does not take the place of the vowel इ of दिव्, but it replaces the final व्. Thus दि + द्यौ + स् = द्यौः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पयिन्, आ is the substitute. The आ is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न् of पयिन् and not of इ. Thus we have पन्थाः, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तद्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 "short अ is the substitute of tyad, &c.," Here अ takes the place of इ. Thus we have त, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुलोप आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , धातु-लोपे ,
आर्द्धधातुके, (गुणवृद्धी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वेकदेशो धातुस्तस्य लोपो यस्मिन् आर्द्धधातुके तस्य आर्द्धधातुकं धातुलोपं तत्र वे गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

4. The Guna and vṛiddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not

take place, when such an ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114) affix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided

This is an exception to sūtra 3. By that sūtra iks were to be gunated or vriddhied and by sūtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before all ârdhadhâtuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory श् (called शिन्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिप्, तः &c., (called तिङ्) are sârvadhâtuka; all other affixes are called ârdhadhâtuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before ârdhadhâtuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the लोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhātu. Thus the termination स्वामि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (जुह्) and is an ârdhadhâtuka termination; when this is added to root जि 'to excel' the इ of जि becomes gunated and we have जेज्यामि "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no gunation. Thus in लोलुबः "a great cutter," the original root is लू "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोलूय. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोलूय, an ârdhadhâtuka suffix अच् III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोलूय + अच्. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) the य of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the ya is dropped and we have लोलू + अच्. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final ऊ would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ârdhadhâtuka affix अच्, a portion of the root, namely, य, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोलुबः "a great cutter."

The word धातु "root" has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in जुह् + इता = जो + इता = जविता. Here the indicatory letter झ् has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेह् the affix विष् is added to the root रिष् "to injure." Thus रिष् + विष् (III. 2. 75.) = रिष् + व् (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिष् + ◌ (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix व् is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिष्. Thus we have रिष् + ◌ = रेष् (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेङ् (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ârdhadhâtuka has been used to indicate that a sârvadhâtuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vriddhi as in रौरवीति, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." रु + यङ् = रोरुय (III. 1. 22). रोरुय + तिप् = रोरु + ति (II. 4. 74.). Here the sârvadhâtuka

affix तिप् causes the elision of च, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रोरो+इ+ति (VII. 3. 94) = रोर्वीति, the augment ईद् being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikah" of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The ik letters only are not guṇated or vriddhi before such ārdhadhātuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अभाजि the equation is as follows:—अ+भञ्ज्+चिप्=अ+भञ्+इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the ārdhadhātuka affix चिप् has caused a portion of the root भञ्ज्, to be suppressed, viz., the letter झ has been elided. But nevertheless the अ of भञ् is vriddhi before चिप् because अ is not included in the pratyāhāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रञ्ज्+घञ् (III. 18) = रञ्+अ (VI. 4. 27.) = रागः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

कङ्क्षितिच ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित्-कित्-ङित्-च । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥

इति ॥ क्तिनिमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guṇa or vriddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory क् or इ.

Thus the past participle terminations क्त and क्तवत् are ārdhadhātuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter क is इत्, the real terminations being, त and तवत्, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not guṇated. Thus with the root चि "to collect" we have चित् : or चितवान्, श्रु, "to hear," श्रुतः, श्रुतवान् ; भी ; "to fear" भीतः, भीतवान् .

Similarly the terminations क्यप् कोलिम्, क्तु कानच्, क्त्वा, क्तिन्, &c., are all कित् terminations 'the indicatory letters of all being क्,' the real affixes being च, एलिम्, वत् &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not guṇated. Thus we have from भृ "to bear" भृत्, from भिद् "to pierce" भिदेलिम्

The terms कित् &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निमित्त or cause, that is the guṇa or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is कित्, गित्, ङित्. Thus all ārdhadhātuka and sārvaadhātuka affixes cause guṇation of the final ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sārvaadhātuka affix शप् (अ) in the following:—

भू + शप् + तिप् = भो+अ + ति = भवति "he is." Similarly sārvaadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short penultimate ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus बुध् + शप् + तिप् = बोधति.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sūtra were also that as

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this :—An affix having an indicatory *k*, *g* or *ñ*, would not cause the *guṇa* substitution of the vowel *ik*, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short *ik* will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to चि + क्त = चित् : “collected” it would not apply to भिङ् + क्त; there would be nothing to bar the *guṇa* substitution of the penultimate *ḥ* of भिङ्. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus भिङ् + क्त = भिज् : “broken.”

Similarly from the root जि we have a word जिष्णु : ‘victorious,’ in which the affix ग्लु has an indicatory ग्ल. Thus जि + ग्लु = जिष्णु : “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also स्थासु : “durable,”

Similarly the affix, अङ् is a क्ति affix, the real suttix being अ, the ङ् being merely indicatory. Therefore when अङ् is added to a root, there is no *guṇa*tion or *vriddhi*. Thus we have from विद् “to ‘now’”. विद् :

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all *sārvadhātuka* affixes that are not marked by an indicatory ए, are treated as क्ति. Thus the second person singular termination तस् is क्ति, and we have चिनुत : “they two collect,” similarly चिन्वन्ति, “they collect,” मृज् + क्त = मृष्ट : “cleansed,” मृजन्ति “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term *ik*” is understood in this *sūtra*. The prohibition, therefore, applies to *ik* vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कम् “to desire” takes the affix णिङ्; of this affix the letters ण् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is ङ्. The force of ण् is to cause *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory ङ् does not prevent such *vriddhi*, as the letter अ of कम् is not included in *ik*. Thus we have कामि + अते = कामे + अते = कामयते “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, the verb मृज् optionally takes *vriddhi*, before *kit* or *nit* affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमृजन्ति or परिमाज्जन्ति “they rub.” Here in this *sūtra* there is prohibition of the *guṇa* of the short penultimate *ik* also.

The indicatory ङ् of the verbal tense affixes *i.e.*, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्, is an exception to this rule of क्ति. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment यासुद् of लिङ् is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory क.” There would have been no necessity of making यासुद् a क्ति, if लिङ् were a क्ति, but the very fact of making यासुद् a क्ति indicates by implication or is ज्ञापक that the final ङ् of लिङ्, लङ् &c. does not make these tense affixes क्ति. Thus in लङ् or Imperfect tense we have अचिनवम् “he collected” (अचिन् + लङ् = अचिनु + अम् = अचिनो + अम् = अचिनवम्.)

दीधी वेवीटाम् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेवी-इटाम्, (गुणवृद्धी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीधीवेवीटाम्-इत्येव गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. The *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of *diḍhi* 'to shine,' and *vevi* 'to go,' and of the augment called इद्.

The roots *दीधी* and *वेवी* never take the *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix *प्* generally causes *vṛddhi* substitution when added to any root; and so the affix *ल्युट्* causes *guṇa*. But these affixes when applied to the verbs *diḍhi* and *vevi*, never cause *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* substitution. As *आदीधी* + *प्* = *आदीधी* + *अक* (VII. 1. 1) = *आदीध्यकः* (VI. 1. 77). So also *आदीधी* + *ल्युट्* = *आदीधी* + *अन* (VII. 1. 1) = *आदीध्यनम्*. Similarly from *वेवी* we have *आवेव्यनम्* and *आवेव्यकः*. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take *guṇa*. Thus *अदीधेत्* (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and *अदीधुः* (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take *guṇa* in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment इद् the real affix is इ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the *बल्* class, i.e., all consonants except च (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is *स्यामि*; this when added to the root चद् "to move" requires an intermediate इ, and thus we have the form *चरिष्यामि*, 'I shall walk.' This इ is never *guṇated* or *vṛddhied*, though according to the general rule, coming before an *ārdhadhātuka* termination, it ought to have been *guṇated*.

The augment इद्, could under no circumstances have taken *vṛddhi*, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the *guṇa* substitute of इद्

ह्रलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरङ्गनिरव्यवहिताः ह्रिस्तोच्चारिता हलः संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुदायः संज्ञी ॥

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word *sanyoga*. The *sūtra* consists of three words, *हलः*, the plural of the *pratyāhāra* हल्, denoting all the consonants, *अनन्तरः* means "without any separation or space" and *संयोगः* which is the word defined, and means "conjunct consonants." So that the *sūtra* means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्क in the word कुक्कुटः, "cock." The word "*sanyoga*" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.

Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितउच्छ्वन्न "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels अ and उ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final उ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पचति पनसम्, the syllable सन् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनो ऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-
वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखसाहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तथा य उच्चार्यते वर्णः सोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति ।

8. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

This defines the word *anunāsika*. The sūtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुखे + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word *āvachana* meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called *anunāsika*. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, i.e., the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is *anusvāra*, while *anunasikas* are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (*anunāsika*).' Thus अँ, आँ. In the Vedas, the particle आइ is *anunāsika*. As अन्न आँ अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1), so also पशिं हुने गशीर आँ उमपुत्रे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants क, ख, ए, न and म are also *anunāsika*. Thus क is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, ख by the palate and nose, ए by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, न and ल are also nasalised and are then called *anunāsika*. The term *anunāsika* is used in sūtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include *anusvāra* or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through

the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude the consonants क, ख, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्नो यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह स समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अकारलृकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वक्तव्या * ॥

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarna or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word savarna or a homogeneous letter. The sūtra consists of four words :—तुल्य "equal or similar," आस्य "mouth or place of pronunciation," प्रयत्न "effort" and सवर्णम् "words of the same class."

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following :—1. कण्ठ "throat" 2. तालु 'palate,' 3. मुखी, 'head,' 4. दन्ता: 'teeth,' 5. ओष्ठौ 'lips,' 6. नासिका 'nose.'

The प्रयत्नम् or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, आन्तरः "internal" and बाह्यः "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to न belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root or the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. ईषत्स्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters य, र, ल, व belong to this class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विवृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईषद् विवृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all vivṛita.

5. संवृतम् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of grammar.

The ābhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the bāhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to ābhyantara prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel or

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bāhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svāsa letters, the ghoshas are called nāda letters.

The second division of letters according to bāhya prayatna is into;

1. Aspirated (mahāprāṇa). 2. Unaspirated (alpaprāṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udātta), *grave* अ (anudātta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunāsika), or not (niranunāsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated. Thus:—अ, अ, अं, अँ, अँ, आ, आ, आं, आँ, आँ, अ३, अ३, अं३, अँ३, अँ३, अँ३.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ए have also eighteen forms. The letter लृ has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of र have two forms each *viz.*, nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or 'class' are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or आस्थ must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्थ or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishṭa and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same *i.e.*, sprishṭa, yet their आस्थ being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of कृ and लृ, which though having different आस्थ are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika of Kātyāyana; "the homogeneousness of कृ and लृ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होदृ + लृकारः = होदृकारः; here कृ and लृ have coalesced into long कृ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sūtras like अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कचत्त and प whose prayatna is the same but whose āsya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like तर्त्ता and तर्त्तु, the प would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with त, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of स्वर, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous स्वर follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between इ and the palatals, and च and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुच्यो-
तति, the श would be elided before च by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाञ् ऋलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अच् हलौ, (सवर्णम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नावपि अञ् ऋलौ परस्परं सवर्णसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savaṛṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus इ and श have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न : namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savaṛṇa. Thus in इण्डहस्त, इधिशित्तलं &c., the letters च and इ in the first example, and इ and श in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if श and इ be held homogeneous, then विपाश + अण् (IV. 3. 53) = विपाश् + अण् (VI. 4. 148 ; here श would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have वैपाश : "belonging to vipāśā or born therein." So also in आनडुहं "ox-skin," the ह would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with अ.

ईदूदेइद्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद्
द्विवचनम् , प्रगृह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्त । द्विवचनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्य संज्ञं भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्). Thus:—कवी इमौ "these two poets," so also वायू इति "two winds;" माले इति "these two garlands." पचते इति "they two cook" पचये इति "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final इ of कवी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.

Why do we say ending in *i*, *u* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षौ + अत्र = वृक्षावन, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ई, ऊ, or ए of the dual number only are prāgrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be prāgrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (I. s.) + अत्र = कुमार्यत्र, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vart: The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the prāgrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसोमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, मात्, (इदूदेत् प्रगृह्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदस्: सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईदूदेत्: प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the *m* of the pronoun अदस् are Prāgrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be prāgrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by *m*, of whatever number they may be, will be prāgrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are prāgrihya." As अमी अश्वाः "Those horses," and अमू आसते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word *adas*"? The letters ई, ऊ, ए following after the *m* of any other word will not be prāgrihya. As शमी + अत्र = शम्यत्र "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter *m*"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुके ऽत्र, "those here," the ए, preceded not by *m* but by the क of अकस् (V. 3. 71) is not prāgrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, (प्रगृह्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a prāgrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which

replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39.) Thus अस्मेइन्द्रावृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, स्वेइति, युष्मे इति, मे इति &c.

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः, एकाच्, अनाङ् । (प्रगृह्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच्चासावच्च एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्वर्जितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाच् “consisting of one vowel,” अनाङ् “with the exception of आङ्.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र. “Oh, Indra” उ उत्तिष्ठ “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragrihya, e. g. प्र in प्रानये वाचमीरय.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् ‘to go,’ आगम् ‘to come;’ अ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) “from,” “ever since,” as आजन्मनः “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), “till” “until” as आ + अध्ययनात् = आरभ्यनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” आ एवं मन्यसे. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाच् in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider signification than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाच् means a “syllable.” In that sense the words प्र, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्गये वाचमीरय. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच् means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipāta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragrihya, as the final अ in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi; as चकारान्.

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओदन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञोभवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word ओत् the final त् is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As अहो अपेहि "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य, इतौ, अनार्थे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुद्धि निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति. इति शब्दे उतार्थे अवैदिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वायावीति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वायो इति (where ओ is pragrihya) are correct.

In ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत्.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Śākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhāṣhārtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention; pujārtham, as the word Kāsyapa in sūtra I. 2. 25.

उजः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उजः, (प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उजः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इतौ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उज् before इति, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उज् meaning उ. According to the same Rishi Śākalya, उज् is a pragrihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

जै ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जै, (शाकल्य०, उजः, प्रगृह्यन्) ॥

इति ॥ उम् इतावनापे जै इत्ययमादेशो भवति दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः शाकल्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य पक्षकश्च ॥

18. The particle जै replaces उम् in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उम् is replaced sometimes by जै the long nasal *ṛ*. Thus जै + इति = जै इति or विति.

In some authorities the sūtras 17 and 18 form but one sūtra, and then it is divided by the method of *yoga-vibhāga*, the division of a single sūtra into two separate sūtras having two distinct rules.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-जतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

इति ॥ ईदन्तमृदन्तश्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे वर्त्तमानं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु (i. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or याच्, or आत् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनू "body," we have तनु + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनु + ऊ = तनू "in the body," as, अध्वर्यां मामकीतनू (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिभितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long *ī* and *ū* are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long *ī* and *ū* which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) दा (â) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवति य इन्द्राय सुतसोमो दशशतं (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + टा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here *ī* is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मवाति.

The word **व्यय** is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of **वाप्यान्** "in the well" and **अश्व** "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get **वापो + अश्व**. Here, no doubt, the word **वापी** is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long **ई** of **vāpi** has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, **वाप्याश्वः** "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final **ई** or **ऋ** of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (*pūrva-pada*); for words like **वापी** &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like **गौरी**, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

दाधाच्चदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा , धा , घु , अदाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सारूप्यभत्वारो धातवो धारूपौ च द्वौ, सारूप्यौ वर्जयित्वा घुसंज्ञका भवन्ति ॥

20. The verbs having the form of **da** 'to give' and **dha** 'to place,' are called **ghu**.

This defines the word **ghu**. Four verbs have the form of **दा**, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of **धा**; they are called **घु**. The **ghu** verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The **घु** verbs are the following:—**दुहाम्** "to give," as **प्रणिदधाति**; **दाप्** "to give," as, **प्रणिदधाता**; **हो** "to cut," as, **प्रणिधत्ति**; **हेह** "to pity" as, **प्रणिदधते**, **दुधाम्** "to place" as, **प्रणिदधाति**, **धेह** "to feed" as, **प्रणिधत्ति**.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being **घु**, the **न** of **प्रनि** is changed into **ण** by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly **दाप्** "to cut" and **हेह** "to clean" not being called **घु**, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus **दा** + **क्त** = **दक्ते** 'what is cut,' as, **दक्ते बहिः**. So also **अवधाते** "washed" as, **अवधाते मुखं** "a bright face." But with **दा** "to give," &c. **दा** + **क्त** = **दत् + त** (VII. 4. 46) = **दत्तः** "given;" so also we have **प्र + दा** + **क्त** = **प्रदत्तम्** (VII. 4. 47). The word **घु** occurs in *sūtra* VI. 4. 66, &c. The word **dāp** includes also **daip** by the *paribhāṣā* given under III. 4. 19, **दै** changed into **दा** by VI. 1. 45.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्त-वत्, एकस्मिन् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आराविव अन्तइव एकस्मिन्नपि कार्ये भवति ।

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an *atideśa sūtra* and consists of four words, **आदि** "beginning," **अन्त** "end," **वत्** "like," **एकस्मिन्** "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix **वत्** has the force of the locative, and the

meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udātta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have ऊर्त्तव्यम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in औपगवम् aupagavam the last ॐ has the accent, which ॐ represents the affix अण्

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of वम् class. Thus राम+भ्याम्=रामाभ्याम्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ+भ्याम्=आभ्याम् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ is initial, and cannot be final.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long आ; otherwise सभा would get the name of वृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासन्नयन would be formed by the affix छ् (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अण् is employed instead, and the form is सभासन्नयनः.

तरप्तमपौ चः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपौ, चः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ च तज्ञौ भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called च.

This sūtra defines च affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the प् in them being इत्. The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति ,

संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अर्द्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, समासकम् विधेयम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' gana 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyā).

This sūtra defines the word saṅkhyā, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class,' and those that have the affixes वत् and अति after them, belong to this class. The letters ड and ङ of वत् and इति are इत्, or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and अति.

The word saṅkhyā means "numerals;" and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वत् are generally compound pronouns, e. g. तावत् "so much," यावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much." similarly words formed by the affix इति, e. g. कति "how many," तति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus बहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = बहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly बहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहुशः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणकृत्वः, गणधा, गणकः, गणशः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्धा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिशः.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyā. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyā. The necessity of defining saṅkhyā arose in order to exclude such words as भूरि "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

Vart:—The word अर्द्ध "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix कन्. The ordinal affixes or pûṛaṇa pratyayas are like डह् (V. 2. 48), नह् (V. 2. 49), थक् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकादशः "eleventh," पंचमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्ध + पंचमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपंचम्, a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपंचमैः शूर्पैः क्रीतः = अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः the taddhita affixes डञ् and अञ् required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपंचमम् as a saṅkhyā, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when अर्द्धपंचमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes अञ् and डञ् (V. 1. 26). The word शूर्प takes both these affixes in the sense of "being

bought with." Thus शौर्षिकम् and शौर्षम् both mean "bought with a measure called śūrpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपञ्चमशूर्पः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपञ्चमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samāsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyā.

अणान्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

24. The Sankhyās having ष or न as their final are called shat.

This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyā. Those saṅkhyās which end in ष् or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word अणान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्चन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus षट् तिष्ठन्ति, पञ्च गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

इति च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति, च, (संख्या, षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यन्ता या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the saṅkhyās ending with the affix *dati* are called shat.

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by इति. By sūtra 22, words in इति are already saṅkhyā; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

कृत्तवतू निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ-कृत्तवतू, निष्ठा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्तवतू कृत्तवतू प्रत्ययौ निष्ठासंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Niṣṭhā.

This defines the nishṭha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त्, तवत्, the क and इ being indicatory. They being कित् are liable to all the rules applicable to कित् affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवान्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवान्.

The force of the indicatory इ in ktavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ūk pratyahāra (उ, ऋ, ॠ), the affix डीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishṭhā occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि,
सर्वनामानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्द आदिष्वेषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanāma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanāma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase 'and the rest' we must refer to Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha where a list of all groups referred to in the sūtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanāma:—

सर्व 'all,' द्वि 'two,' उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' त्वत् 'other,' त्व 'other,' नेम 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' त्वद् 'he, she, it,' तद् 'he, she, it,' यद् 'who,' एतद् 'this,' इदम् 'it,' अदस् 'that,' एक 'one,' द्वि 'two,' युष्मद् 'you,' अस्मद् 'I,' भवतु 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' अवर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also स्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanām:

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus सर्व though ending in अ, is not declined like नर which also ends in अ, the plural of सर्व being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्मै; the abl. sing. नरात्, सर्वस्मात्; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन्; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanāmas. The word उभय 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

as उभयो. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two स्व in the above list, namely स्वत् and स्व, having the same meaning, and both ending in स्व. But the final स्व of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give one स्वत् only and not the other, and say that both have anudātta accent. The word सन is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in स्व, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानान्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समेषाम्.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्व be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि 'give to Sarva (a person)'. Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanāma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अतिसर्व 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्व loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word upasarjana will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वयसंज्ञा that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning.

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,
दिक्-समासे, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशां समासो दिक्समासो दिगुपदिष्टे समासे बहुव्रीहौ विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम संज्ञानि भवन्ति ।'

28. The above words are optionally sarvanāma when they occur in a bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sūtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sūtra 29), in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sūtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrīhi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, e.g. उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in स्वा, i. e. उत्तरपूर्वायै. So दक्षिणपूर्वस्यै or दक्षिणपूर्वायै.

Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sūtra will enjoin that in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sūtra, we had not used the word दिक्, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samāsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrīhi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrīhi which is purely samāsa, and in no other bahuvrīhi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrīhi where there is a semblance of bahuvrīhi but not exact bahuvrīhi.

The quasi-bahuvrīhi, or analogical bahuvrīhi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrīhi-vadbhāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrīhi. Thus एकं + एकं = एकैकम् 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrīhi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrīhi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrīhi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrīhi, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकैकस्मै देहि 'give to each one,' दक्षिणदक्षिणस्यै देहि ॥

Why do we say "in the bahuvrīhi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus दक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्व-
नामानि, समासे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarva-nāma when occurring in a bahuvrīhi compound.

As a general rule (see sūtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarva-nāma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrīhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described

later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound **प्रियविश्व** meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrīhi compound of **प्रिय** 'beloved,' and **विश्व** 'all,' (which is a sarvanāma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have **प्रियविश्वाय**, though the dative singular of **विश्व** by itself is **विश्वस्मै**, like other pronominals. So also **प्रियोभयाय** "to him who is beloved of both." So also **दूधन्याय**, **त्र्यन्याय** &c.

Similarly in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix **अकच्**, but the general affix **कन्**. As, **त्वत्कपित्थको**, **मत्कपित्थको** (V. 3. 70)

Though the word bahuvrīhi was present in this sūtra by anuvṛtti from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrīhi again in this sūtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also which are no longer bahuvrīhi, but whose original components were once bahuvrīhi. Thus the words **वस्त्रान्तरा** and **वसनान्तरा** are bahuvrīhi compounds; but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound, the present rule still applies. As, **वस्त्रान्तरावसनान्तरा** :

तृतीयासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समासे, (सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि, न,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanāma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpuruṣa compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called tritīyā tatpuruṣa. When, therefore, there is such a samāsa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word **मासपूर्व** is a compound of **मास** and **पूर्व** = **मासेनपूर्व** meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word māsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be **मासपूर्वाय**, though the dative of **पूर्व**, when standing by itself, is **पूर्वस्मै**; so also **संवत्सरपूर्वाय** !

The tritīya-samāsa of the present sūtra has reference to the special tritīyā-samāsa ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words pūrva, sadṛśa, sama, &c." and has not reference to the tritīyā-samāsa in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a

kṛit affix." Therefore, in phrases स्वयका कृतं 'done by thee,' मयका कृतं 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a kṛit-affix. In other words, reading this sūtra with II. 1. 31, we find that pūrva is the only sarvanāma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

The word समास may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra, the primary object of the sūtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समास has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like मासेन पूर्वाय, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्व is not a sarvanāma, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

इन्द्रे च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे, न) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रे च समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma.

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanāma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्णे 'the castes,' आश्रमे 'the orders' and इतर 'the others'. The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापराणाम् 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sūtra. 29.

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, इन्द्रे समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रे समासे जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sūtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by स्मि), the dvandva

compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्षाश्रमेतर may be either वर्षाश्रमेतराः or श्रमे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी.

This sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतरः + कतमकः = कतरकतमकाः in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

प्रथमचरमतयाल्पाहुकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-
चरम-तय-अल्प-अर्द्ध-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषाजसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरमे तय अल्प अर्द्ध कतिपय नेम इत्येतेजसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanāma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्प or अल्पाः, अर्द्ध or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, हितये or हितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sūtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prātipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prāpta-vibhāsā, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञा-
याम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words *pârva* 'prior,' *para* 'after,' *avara* 'posterior,' *dakshina* 'south,' *uttara* 'north,' *apara* 'other,' and *adhara* 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of *sarvanâmas*. They are always *sarvanâmas*, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not *sarvanâmas*, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञा). Thus, when the word *वृक्षिण* means 'clever,' it is not a *sarvanâma*, as, *वृक्षिणा इमे गायकाः* 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in *उत्तराः कुरुवः* 'the northern Kurus,' the word *उत्तर* is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are *sarvanâma*, they are declined like *sarva*, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as *sarvanâmas*, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a *prâptavibhâsâ*.

That there is a 'specification' (*niyama*), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (*avadhi*), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (*avasthâ*) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (*dakshina*), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the *Himâlayâ* with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the *Vindhyâ* mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the *Vindhya* range. Thus, (पूर्वे or पूर्वाः, अवरे or अवराः, परे or पराः) वृक्षिणे or वृक्षिणाः ; उत्तरे or उत्तराः ; अपरे or अपराः ; अधरे or अधराः.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अज्ञाति-धन-
आख्यायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेज्ज्ञाति धनयोः संज्ञारूपेण वर्तते ॥

35. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

The word *स्व* when it does not mean a *ज्ञाति* 'kinsman' or *धन* 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanâma*, in every number and case, as it has been

enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंख्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहिर्योग-उपसंख्यानयोः (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहिर्योग उपसंख्याने गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकरणे तीयस्य वा डित्सु सर्वनामसंज्ञेत्युपसंख्यानम्* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanâma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanâma, so also, when it means उपसंख्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanâma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanâma, e. g., ग्रामयोरन्तरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanâmas, which began with sūtra 26.

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanâma before the case-affixes having an indicative ड (डित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर-आदि, निपातम्,

अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञाभि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर &c. must be found out from the Ganapâtha; they are the following:—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक्

'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' कृते 'except, without,' दुग्धत् 'at the same time, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly.' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' इवस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little,' शश्वत् 'ever,' जोषम् 'gladly,' कुष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अविस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् 'negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' हे ह 'exclamation,' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत वत 'enclitic like, as Brâhmanavat, priestly,' सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा, अन्तरेण 'except, without' ड्योक, योक 'long,' कम् 'expletive particle,' शम् 'ease,' सना 'perpetually,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अन्नम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रौषट्, बौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise.' अस्ति 'being present,' उपांशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' वृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' नियो or नियस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस् 'again, repeatedly' उवाहकम् or उवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहजम् 'violently' अभीष्टम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरूक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' ना, नाङ् 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes ktvâ tosun, kasun, by the kṛit affixes ending in न् or म्, ऐ, औ or औ, and the avyayibhâva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिन् (V. 3. 7) and ending with पाशप् (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्, आच् and चाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्वि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तत्ति or वत्ति, न or नाम् are also indeclinables.

The words called nipâta will be given under sūtras, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न व्येति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an अव्यय or indeclinables.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितः, च, असर्व-विभक्तिः
(अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

38. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.

This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, sārva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, वच, तदा, वरा, सर्वदा, सदा &c.

कुन्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, म-एज्-अन्तः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृद्यो मकारान्न एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with न् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in न् or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुन्- (technically तुमुन्) and अन् (technically एमुन्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in न्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus दातुन् 'to give,' and स्मरन् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवसे 'to live,' पिवध्वै 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वाहुकारं,' 'सेपन्नकारं,' 'जवणकारं,' भुङ्क्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वक्षे" रायः (वच् + से III. 4. 9 = वक्षे); ता 'वानेषे,' एयनामुर्वीम् गव्युतिमेषां (इ + से = एषे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्मे शतं शरसे 'जीवसे' या अस्मे वीराञ्छ्वश्वत इन्द्र शिभिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पुणीत भेषजं वरुणं तन्वे मम। ज्योक् च सूर्ये 'दृशे,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृश् + केन् III. 4. 11 दृशे).

The word अन्त is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'aupadeśika,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—आधये (d. s.), आधेः (g. s.) चिकीर्षवे। चिकीर्षोः। कुम्भकारेभ्यः। नगरकारेभ्यः॥

क्तातोमुन्कमुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ता, तोमुन्-कमुनः, (अव्ययम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ता तोमुन् कमुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables :—पुरासूर्ये 'स्योदेतो' राधेयः । पुरावत्साना 'मपाकतोः' । पुराकूरस्य 'विसृपो' विरप्सिन्नु दादाय पृथर्वी जीवदानुम् ॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ऋते विदभिन्निपः पुरा जर्हन्व 'आहृदः' । (Rig Ved. VIIIa. 1. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च (अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

41. (The compound called) Avyayibhāva (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The Avyayibhava or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus अग्रिहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूप 'after the form i., e., accordingly.'

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhāva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i.e., sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavāh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलाभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), i.e., sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपगान्नि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपद्यःकारः, उपपद्यःकानः, as compared with अयस्कारः. Here, the compound उपपद्यः being treated as avyaya sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into स्.

The four sūtras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigaṇa. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gaṇapāṭha ; their repetition here in the Ashtādhyāyī indicates that these rules are अनित्य or not of universal application, viz., all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see

indeclinables like उदेतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्वोदेतोः ; or कूरस्य विसृपः .

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

42. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanâmasthâna.

This defines the word sarvanâmasthâna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is इ; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि पश्य. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also मधूनि, नपूणि, जनुनि. The word sarvanâmasthâna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिङ्गि पञ्च वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवन्ति नपुंसकादन्यत्र ॥

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra sut. (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanâmasthâna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	प्रथमा	सु (स्)	औ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अम्	औद्	शस् (अस्)
Instrumental	तृतीया	टा (आ)	भ्याम्	भिस्
Dative	चतुर्थी	ङे (ए)	"	भ्यस्
Ablative	पंचमी	ङसि (अस्)	"	"
Genitive	षष्ठी	ङस् (अस्)	ओस्	आम्
Locative	सप्तमी	ङि (इ)	"	सुप् (सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the न् of जस्, the श् of शस्, the ट of औद् &c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyâhâra सुप् formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, औ, जस्, अम् and औद्) are represented by सुट् and are called sarvanâmasthâna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanâmasthâna and the other before the rest.

Thus the word राजन् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सुह् vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज् and राज as :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	राजा	राजानौ	राजानः
Accusative	राजानम्	राजानौ	राजः
Instrumental	राजा	राजभ्यां	राजभिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न. वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhāṣā or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sūtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhāṣā. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhāṣa:— prāpta-vibhāṣā, aprāpta-vibhāṣā and prāptāprāpta-vibhāṣā. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा श्वे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasāraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुश्राव or शिश्राव.

इत्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यो यणः स्थाने भूतो भावी वा तस्य संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels yaṇ are called samprasāraṇa.

This defines the word samprasāraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ, and their corresponding semi-vowels ए, ओ, ऌ, and ॡ included in the pratyāhāra yaṇ. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishṭhā affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the क्तिन् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept.' Similarly from वद्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्धः, मृह्-गृहीतम्-प्रह्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्तौ, ट्-क्-इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिद्विद्वति अन्तः किद्वति षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य ॥

46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory इ or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters इ and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is इ that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a क्त् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35) which says "ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except च, have इत्". The question may arise where is this इत् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhadhâtuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory इ shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhadhâtuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhadhâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इत्. Thus भू + इत् + स्यति = भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly लज्जित् 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment बुक्त् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + बुक्त् + ऐच् + त = भीषयते 'he frightens.'

निद्बोऽन्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निद्, अच्, अन्यात्, परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् सन्निविष्टानामन्यादच् परो यिज्जति ॥

47. The augment that has an indicatory न् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final position of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory न्. The augments having an indicatory न्, technically called न्त् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नन्, in which न् and न् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore it is said "let न्त् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस + नन् + इ (VII. 1. 72 = पयान्ति (VI. 4. 8). Here न् is added between य and स् i. e. after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + न् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = मुञ्चति. Similarly विरुणद्धि.

The word अच् is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मञ्च्, in

which the augment नुम् is added not after the last vowel अ of म्, but between स् and ज्. The result of adding the augment नुम् between स् and ज् is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स् is elided. Thus मस्ज् + ता = मस्ज् + नुम् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्ज्ज् + ता = मस्ज् + ता (VII. 2. 29) = मङ्क्ता "He will immerse". So also मग्नः 'immersed,' मग्नवान्, मङ्कुम्.

एच इग्रस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, इक्, ह्रस्व-आदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ह्रस्वादेशे कर्तव्यइगेव ह्रस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48, Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्'? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वा, अति + माला = अतिमालः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when द्रुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवदत्त !

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह शास्त्रे या षष्ठी अनिवययोगा भूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगनिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्तव्या ॥

49. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śāshṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation; possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism

lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 3, the word इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.' Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, *vis.* 48, we have the word एच् in the genitive case and the sūtra means 'of एच्.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sūtra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4. 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन् in लोट् or imperative mood, and we have जहि 'kill thou.'

This sūtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn :—Only that which is enunciated in a rule, *i. e.* that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' *i. e.* is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence द्वाभ्यां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' *i. e.* wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभूः (II. 4. 52), or ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'brū' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs ब्रू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shasṭhī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ यदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणाणामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति सदृशतमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāṣha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and लृ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ओ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ओ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like चि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or ओ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the likeliest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is ए, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ओ is the guṇa of उ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—एण्ड + अयं = एण्डायं; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are guttural.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63 :—"The words पद्, दत्, नत् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes णस् (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्थतः "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the *meaning* of the original, *i. e.*, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that पद् is the substitute of पाद्, दत् of दन्त, नत् of नासिका, &c., which convey the same *meaning* and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI. 3. 34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डययुवति

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the इ of अइस् not ending in स् and in the room of इ there is न्." Thus अय + स्ते = अय् + अस्ते = अयुस्ते; अय + भ्यान् = अया + भ्यान् (VII. 3. 102) = अय् + ऊभ्यान् = अयूभ्यान्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long ऊ replaces the long आ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for क् and क् when an affix having an indicatory घ् follows." Applying the rule of गुणतः we find that क् which is an alpaprâṇa and aghosha letter replaces क् having the same quality; while क् which is ghosha, and alpaprâṇa is replaced by the letter ग् possessing similar quality. Thus पक् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; त्यक् + घञ् = त्यागः; रज्ज् + घञ् = रागः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of the word sthâna was understood in this sūtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhâṣhâ :—

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.*, अ and इ and उ have all one mâtṛâ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, चेता, स्तोता.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाग्यसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of झय् class, ह् is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ह् must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and ह् are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and ह् is soft; so ग् and ह् are both soft, but ग् is unaspirate, and ह् is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ह्, is घ्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in निन्दुब्धसति, the ह् has been changed into भ्.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उः (अकारस्य) स्थानेऽण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो वेदितव्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for क् it is always followed by a र.

This sūtra consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of क् and means literally 'of क्' or 'in the place of क्'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sūtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of क्. Thus there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for कृ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of कृ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of कृ, the actual substitute is अर्. Thus कृ + ता = कर्त्ता; similarly हर्ता.

So also when कृ is replaced by इ as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र्. As कृ + अति = क्रि + र् + भति = किरति 'he scatters;' similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when कृ is replaced by उ, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र्. As द्वि + माह + अण् = इमातुरः 'son of two mothers'

This र् is to be added only when कृ is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अण्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the कृ of the word सुधाह् is replaced by अक् (technically अकङ्) when the affix इञ् is added." Thus, सुधाह् + इञ् = सुधात् + अक् + इ = सौधाताकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhātṛi' Here the substitute of कृ, that is to say, the syllable अक् is not followed by र्.

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyāhāra formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the sūtra would mean that अण् substitutes of कृ and ल् are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus guṇa of रि = ar, of लि = al.

अलोन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य य उच्यते आदेशः सोन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared त्यसादीनामः "in the place of त्यङ् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word त्यङ्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of त्यङ्, namely ङ् is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 इङ्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोष्ठी and not the whole word, as पञ्चगोषिः 'purchased for five gopis.' इशगोषिः

डिञ्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-इत्, च, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिञ्च य आदेशः सोऽभिकालपि अलोन्त्यस्य भवति ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory ॠ (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of नाह and पिह there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनङ् is a डिन् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz*, the ऋ of नाह is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound नातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तातङ् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory ॠ, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् ‘may he live, or may you live’; instead of जीवतु ‘may he live,’ or जीव ‘live thou.’

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, (अलः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्ये शिष्यमाद्यमादेरलः प्रत्येतव्यम् ॥

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared: “In the place of अप् used after the words हि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्गे there is ई.” This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows हि or अन्तर्.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sūtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have हि + अप् = द्वीप (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) ‘an island,’ अन्तरीप ‘promontory.’ So also in the sūtra ईशासः (VII. 2. 83) ‘long ई is the substitute of अन when the latter comes after the root आस्.’ Thus आस् + अन = आस् + ईन = आसीनः. Here also the ई replaces the initial अ of अन.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case. see sūtra 67.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शित्, सर्वस्य,

(आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शित् सर्वस्य षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra 52 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra ब्रुवो वच् (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of ब्रू let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ब्रू and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ब्रू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ब्रू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of इवम् there is इश्." Here the âdeśa इ is an âdeśa having the श् for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इवम्, and not only its last letter म्.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the *actual* substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः,

अनल्विधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याश्रयेषु कार्येष्वनलाश्रयेषु स्थान्यलाश्रयाणि कार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sūtra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sūtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed

on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthāni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Ādeśa is the expression which replaces something: Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphab^t or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an ādeśa is not like the sthāni. A rule which is applicable to the *letters* of the sthāni, need not be applicable to the letters of the ādeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix ल्वा e. g. गृह् + स्वा. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate इद् before ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with any consonant except य. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix स्वा begins with त् and is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृह् + इ + स्वा = गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix स्वा is replaced by य (tech. ल्यप्). Thus संगृह् + य. This ādeśa य which takes the place of स्वा has all the functions of स्वा viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 ante), as the affix स्वा does. But the affix स्वा takes an intermediate इ; should, therefore, the ādeśa य take also the इ or not? Now the augment इ which स्वा takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of वल् pratyâhâra; while य is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyâhâra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking इ by rule VII. 2. 35. the ādeśa य is not like स्वा; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have संगृह्य.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अङ्ग 'base,' or a कृत affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुप् affix 'case affix,' or a तिङ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare:—'भू is the substitute of the root अस्, and वच् of the root कृ when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes भू and वच् are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes लब्ध &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्; वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम्.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क is the substitute of the base क्रिम् when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, कायाम्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—'ल्यप्' is the substitute of the kṛit affix क्त्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नम्.' Here, ल्यप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकु + ल्यप् = प्रकु + त् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रहृत्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:—'इक्' is the substitute of the affix ठ' as इधि + ठक् (IV. 2. 18) = इधिकम्, here, इक् being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prātipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रहृत्य. The affix क्त्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute ल्यप् will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sūtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—'य' is the substitute of the sup-affix हे after an inflective base ending in short अ.' Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृषाय; वृषाय.

The substitute of तिन् becomes like तिन्. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—'ताम्, तम्, त and अम् are substituted for तस्, यस्, य, and निप् when tense-affixes having indicatory डू follow.' Here the substitutes ताम् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुताम्, अकुरुत &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—'वस्' is the substitute of युष्मान्, युष्मन्, युष्माकम्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मान्, अस्माकम्.' Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वस् in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थान्यादेशोऽनन्विधौ, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, 'an ādeśa is called sthāni.' This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says 'the root हन् preceded by आ is ātmanepadī.' वध the substitute of हन् will be ātmanepadī, as आवाधित्; but हन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, आहत.

The word ādeśa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the इ of ति into उ (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. पचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of विद्,

पयिन्, स्व् &c., such as the change of इ into औ (VII. 1. 84), न् into आ (VII. 1. 85), इ into अ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as यौः, पन्थाः, सः. Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix सु would have been elided.

अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, परस्मिन्, पूर्व-विधौ, (स्यानिवत् आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्त्तव्ये स्यानिवद्भवति ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—अचः genitive of the pratyâhâra अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an âdeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words âdeśa and sthânavat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an âdeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthânavat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an âdeśa.

Thus there is an affix called सिच् the actual affix being इ; the other letters ण् and च् being इत्. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory ण् is to cause the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as वच + इ = वाचि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word पदु, we have to add the affix सिच्. Thus पदु + इ; but before nich, the इ of पदु is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel इ of पदु and becomes sthânavat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthânavat is that though the अ of पद् is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛiddhi before 'nich' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the अ to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form पदि the present tense third person singular of which is पदयति. The equation being पद् + ० + इ, the zero preventing the अ of पद् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अवधीत्, the aorist (लुङ्) of वध. Thus अ + वध + ईत् = अ + वध् + ० + ईत्. Here, the अ of वध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is elision of the short अ of that which ends in short अ;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vṛiddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu अ preceded by a consonant when सिच् (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-

dered as sthânavat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form अवाधीत् which is inadmissible.

Similarly बहुखट्वा + कप् = बहुखट्कः। Here, the short अ is the substitute of the long आ of खट्वा by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word बहुखट्कः will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udātta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahuvrīhi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short अ is regarded as sthânavat to long आ. Thus बहुखट्कः.

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel âdeśa, therefore, where an âdeśa replaces a consonant, the previous sūtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthânavat. Thus there is a kṛit affix called ल्यप्, the real suffix being य, the ल् and प् being diacritical letters. Before this य the verb आगम् (to come) loses its म्, and lopa or blank takes the place of म्. Here then lopa or blank is an âdeśa and न् a consonant is sthâni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛit affixes having an indicatory प्, the letter त् is added after verbs ending in light vowels. Now in आगम्, when म् is omitted, the अ of ग becomes final; and therefore a त् is required before य (which is a पितृ affix). Thus we have आगत्य.

But had lopa or blank become sthânavat to म् then the अ of ग would have remained penultimate as it was when it was आगम्; and no त् would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word प्रमः. Thus प्रच्च् + नङ् (III. 3. 90) प्रम् + नङ् (VI. 4. 19). Here, ण् is substituted for छ्; this will not be sthânavat to छ्; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthânavat, there would come the augment तुक् (त्) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly अक्राष्टान्, the aorist of कृष्. Thus अ + कृष् + सिञ् + तान् = अ + कृष् + ० + तान् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the स् is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthânavat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthânavat, ष् of कृष् would be changed into क्.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed on account of something which follows (parasmin). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the âdeśa (though of a vowel) is not sthânavat. Thus the words युवजानिः and बधुदीजानिः.

The word युवजानि is a bahuvrīhi compound of युवति and जाया, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the आ of या is replaced by नि (tech. निङ्) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthânavat to आ, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthânavat, the य् could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of य

and य when any consonant except ह् or झ follows'). Thus, युवजाया + नि = युवजाय् + ० + नि (V. 4. 134) = युवजानि: (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैद्यान्नपद्यः, 'a descendant of व्यान्नपाद्' also illustrates this rule. व्यान्नपाद् is a bahuvrīhi compound of व्यान्न and पाद्, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final अ of 'pāda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopādeśa will not be sthānivat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 ('पद्' is the substitute of the word पाद् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्यान्नपाद् + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = वैद्यान्नपद्यः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pād.'

Similarly the word आसीद्ये, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root क्षीधी 'to shine.' Thus आसीधी + इद् = आसीधी + ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthānivat to इ, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of dīdhī and vevī are elided when an affix beginning with य or इ follows'). Had ए been sthānivat, the final इ would have been elided.

Similarly an ādeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthānivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the ādeśa (pūrva-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the ādeśa; it will be applied to the exact ādeśa without considering what was the letter which the ādeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the ādeśa is sthānivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गो is हे गौः। The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गो is formed by changing ओ into औ and adding the case termination स्. Here the ādeśa औ, replaces ओ, on account of the subsequent termination स्. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final स् is dropped after short vowels and ए and ओ (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the औ of गौ to be regarded as sthānivat to ओ, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final स् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of स् after short vowels and ए and ओ applies to a letter, which is not anterior to the ādeśa औ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pūrva-vidhi here, the final स् is retained and we have the vocative गौः।

Similarly the word बाभ्रवीयाः, 'the pupils of Bābhavya.' The word बाभ्रव्य is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = बाभ्रो

+ यञ् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = बाभ्र + यञ् (VI. 1. 79) = बाभ्रव्यः. From this is formed बाभ्रवीय in this wise:—बाभ्रव्य + छ (IV. 2. 114) = बाभ्रव्य + ईय (VII. 1. 2) = बाभ्रव्य + ईय (VI. 4. 148) = बाभ्र + ईय (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अच् which replaced the ओ of बाभ्रो, been sthânavat to ओ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अच् is not sthânavat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that *precedes* the substitute अच्, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + कि (III. 3. 92) = नि + धा + इ (I. 3. 8) = नि + ध्र + ० + इ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि applying ढक् (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि + एय = निध्र + एय (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the आ of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthânavat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ढक् is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'dhak is added to a word ending in इ, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि ends in इ and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthânavat to the elided आ, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix ढक् is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopâdeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चिधिषु ॥५८॥
पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त- द्विर्वचन- वरे- यलोप- स्वर- सवर्ण- अनुस्वार- दीर्घ- जश्- चर्-
विधिषु, (स्थानिवत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोणातिप्रसक्तः स्थानिवद्भाव एतेषु विधिषु प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânavat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânavat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the अ of अच् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the अ of स्तः and सन्ति is

replaced by an âdeśa called लोप्, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्तः there is this âdeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible âdeśa will be sthânavat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes तः and अन्ति being डित् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of अ by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तः 'who two are' the final औ of कौ and the invisible अ of स्तः ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of औ into आव् is a पदान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तः. So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. द्विवचनविधि: 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of इधि + अन्न we have इध्यन्न. Here इ is changed into द्य. If this द्य were sthânavat to इ, then the rule by which ध्र could be doubled before द्य would be inapplicable. But द्य is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध्र and get the form इद्धयन्न. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthânavat.

3. वरेविधि: 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a kṛit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from ईश् 'to rule' we have ईश्वर: 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायावर: 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाय + वर (III. 2. 176) = यायाय् + ० + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the अ of य has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ârdhadhâtuka affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the य् by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters द् and य् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except य् i. e., beginning with consonants of वल् pratyâhâra. Thus याया + ० + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long आ of a base is dropped before ârdhadhâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the âdeśa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel अ, be considered as sthânavat, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the आ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यायावर; as. अप्सु यायावरः प्रपेत पिण्डान् ॥

4. यलोपविधि: 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. क्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्डूय + ति = कण्डूय् + ० + ति, the अ of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of य् before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthânavat to अ, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of य्, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूति: 'scratching.'

5. स्वरविधि: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory ह्र , the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now चुल् is an affix that has an indicatory ह्र , the real affix being अक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्षे 'desirous of doing' we have:— $\text{चिकीर्षे} + \text{अक} = \text{चिकीर्षे} + \circ + \text{अक}$, the अ being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent अ but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की ; and we have चिकीर्षकः , so also त्रिहर्षिकः ॥

6. लघ्वर्णविधि: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters. To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa अन् (III. 1. 78) the ह्र and न् being indicatory the real affix is न . This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:— $\text{शिष्} + \text{इन्} + \text{हि} = \text{शि} + \text{न} + \text{प्} + \text{हि} = \text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{प्} + \text{हि}$. The अ of न is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the अ of इन् is dropped before those sārvaadhātuka terminations which are कित् or डित् . By I. 2. 4 all sārvaadhātuka terminations which have not got an indicatory प् are considered as डित् . The affix हि therefore is a डित् sārvaadhātuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित् , not having an indicatory प् . The next stage is:— $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{प्} + \text{धि}$; the हि being changed into धि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि is changed into धि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of सञ्ज् pratyāhāra:' here प् and ध् are changed by general rules of sandhi into ङ् and ड् and we have $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$ (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the ङ् is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of सञ्ज् pratyāhāra.' Therefore we have:— $\text{शि} + \circ + \circ + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of यङ् pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except ह्र , श् ष् and स् is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarna to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the अ which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into प् as homogeneous to ङ् . But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form $\text{शि} + \text{प्} + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि} = \text{शिण्डि}$ or शिण्डि ; so also विण्डि .

7. अनुस्वारविधि: 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:— $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न् to be changed into anusvāra.

Now if zero be considered as sthānivat, then न् is not followed by a letter of झल् pratyāhāra, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānivat, and we change the न् into anusvāra. Other examples are शि + न् + ० + ष् + अन्ति = शिषन्ति; so also पिषन्ति ॥

8. दीर्घविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिदिवन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is द्वा or आ. Therefore, we have प्रतिदिवन् + आ = प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ. Here the अ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in अन् lose their अ before terminations technically called Bha. The termination of Inst. sing. is a Bha termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the इक् pratyāhāra, of words that end in द् or व् and are followed by a consonant. Here दिव् is a root that ends in व्; and if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then this व् is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of दिव् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ = प्रतिदीव्ना ॥

9. जश्विधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the ādeśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us add the affix क्तिन् to the root अङ् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अङ् is replaced by यस्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + यस् + क्तिन् = स + यस् + ति = स + य् + ० + स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + य् + ० + ० + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + य् + ० + ० + धि (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the य् to be changed into ज्. This is a जश् rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of झल् class, the letters of जश् class are substituted, if followed by letters of झल् class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the अ of य्, be considered as sthānivat, then the य् is not followed by a consonant of झल् class, and cannot be changed into ज्. But it is not so. Therefore सय् + ० + ० + धि = सजिधः (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first अ is omitted, and then य् is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word बद्धाम्, which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd per. dual of the root भस्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyādi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भस् + ताम् = भस् + भस् + ताम् = भ + भस् + ताम् = ब + भस् + ताम् = ब + भ् + ० + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् = बद्धाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into ब् is by the application of VIII. 4. 33, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānivat.

10. चरविधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthânavat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb अद् 'to eat.' अद् is replaced by घस् (II. 4. 40) and अनुस् is the termination of the second person singular of लिट् or perfect tense. घस् + अनुस् = घस् + घस् + अनुस् (VI. 1. 8) = घ + घस् + अनुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + घस् + अनुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + घ् + ० + स् + अनुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जघ् + ० + सनुस्.

At this stage comes the चर् rule in operation, which says that the letters of झन् pratyâhâra are replaced by those of चर् pratyâhâra, when followed by letters of खर् pratyâhâra. Here घ् is a letter of झन् class, and if zero is not sthânavat, it is followed by स् which is a letter of खर् class, and therefore घ् is required to be changed into क् of चर् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthânavat and thus we have :—जक् + सनुस् = जक्तुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly अक्तन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of घस् is thus formed:—अ + घस् + क्ति + अन् = अ + घस् + अन् (II. 4. 80) = अ + घ् + ० + स् + अन् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthânavat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthânavat. Therefore we have, अक्तन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthânavat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthânavat. Thus बहुखट्कः, कियोः, गियोः, वाच्योः. In these cases the lopa-âdeṣa being sthânavat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विवचनेऽचि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विवचने, अचि, (स्यानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचननिमित्तेऽचि अजादेशः स्यानिवद्भवति द्विवचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. According to the latter, the sūtra means:—'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication; a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, [whilst the reduplication is yet to be made: but the reduplication having been made

the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthānivat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *viz.*, so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long आ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix लिप्, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अद्, अर्, आद् and आर् for ए, ओ ऐ and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of आ. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + अतुस् = प् + ० + अतुस् (VI. 4, 64). Here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the आ of the root is elided before ārdha-dhātuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or डित् and before इद्.' The affix अतुस् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sūtra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of आ, the only visible root left to us is प् which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sūtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthānivat i. e. as if it were the very आ itself. Thus we have पा + प् + ० + अतुस् = पपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long आ of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also पपुः।

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हन् 'to kill.' हन् + अतुस् = ह् + ० + न् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate अ of हन् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गन् 'to go' हन् 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or डित्. We know अतुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हन् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह् + अतुस् = जहत् (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह् is changed into ज by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह् into घ by VII. 3. 55.

(c). The elision of the affix **णिच्**. Let us form the Aorist (luñ) of the causative form of **अद्**. The causative is formed by adding the affix **णिच्** to the root ; and the aorist takes the augment **अ**. Thus we have:—**अ + अद् + णिच् + त् = आद् + इ + त् = आद् + इ + चद् + त्**. The affix **चद्** (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters **च्** and **द्** are indicative, the real affix being **अ**. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix **णिच्** is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix that does not take the intermediate **इ**. Now **चद्** is such an affix. Therefore we have **आद् + ० + अत्**.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix **चद्**.' The **चद्** is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel **इ**, becomes sthānivat to **इ**; as if it were the very **इ** itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable **टि**, by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the âdeśa takes up its original form of zero. Thus **आदिद् + ० + अत् = आटिटत्**.

(d). The fourth class of cases, where this sūtra has scope, is the substitution of **अच्** for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of **कु** 'to do':—**कु + अतुच् = कर् + अतुच्**, the semi-vowel **र्** taking the place of **कृ** by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that **अतुच्** is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now **र्** is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (*i. e.*, **कृ**), it will therefore be sthānivat by this sūtra. Had it not been sthānivat, the consonants **क्** could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute **र्** being taken equal to **कृ**, we reduplicate **कु**; in reduplication the **क** is changed into **च्** by VII. 4. 62, and **कृ** into **अ** by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:—**चक्रतुः**; similarly **चक्षुः** !

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of **आच्** &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of **नी** 'to lead': **नी + एत् = नै + अ = नाच् + अ**. The **ई** is vriddhied before the termination **अ** of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into **आच्** by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the **अ** of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore the **आच्** which was a substitute for **ऐ**, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthānivat to **ऐ** in form. In reduplicating the word **नाच्**, we reduplicate as if it were still **नै**. Thus we have the form **निनाय** and not **ननाय**. Similarly **निनय**, **सुलय**, and **सुलाय**.

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sūtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel

is like the original vowel." Let us form जग्ने the 3rd per. sing. perfect tense (जिह्) of the root ज्ञे "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of लिट्, is एष् (III. 4, 81). Thus ज्ञे + एष् = ज्ञा + एष् (VI. 1. 45). Now here ऐ is changed into आ, on account of the affix एष्; this affix causes reduplication, but still आ is not to be considered as sthānivat to ऐ. For if आ be considered so, then in the next stage ज्ञा + एष् = ज्ञ + ० + एष् (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthānivat to ऐ and the reduplicative syllable will be जि and not ज; the form being जिग्ने and not जग्ने. But आ is not sthānivat to ऐ, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of ऐ into आ is immaterial; it is the second and further change of आ into zero which is *directly* connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthānivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthānivat to आ.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sūtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form द्युषति, 3rd per. sing. desiderative present tense of दिष् 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—दिष् + सन् (III. 1. 7) = दि + ऊ + सन् (VI. 4. 19) = द्यु + ऊ + सन् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of इ into द्यु is caused by ऊ (tech. ऊङ्), which begins with a vowel; is this द्यु to be regarded as sthānivat to इ? No, because ऊ does not *cause* reduplication, it is सन् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—द्यु + सन् = द्युषत् (VI. 1. 9) = द्युषति. If द्यु could be regarded like इ, then the form would have been दिद्युषति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sūtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यङ् of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthānivat. Let us form जेष्ठीयते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root घ्रा 'to smell.' Thus घ्रा + यङ् = ग्री + यङ् (VII. 4. 31) = जेष्ठीयते (VII. 4. 82). Here, आ is changed into ई on account of यङ्; but ई is not sthānivat to आ; had it been so, the form would have been जग्नीयते. Similarly हेष्ठीयते.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्रवणमनुधारणमनुपलब्धिभावो वर्णविनाश इत्यनयान्तरमेतैः शब्दै-
र्योग्योऽभिधीयते तस्य लोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,

is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or *âdêra*, and as such this grammatical *zero* has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, slu blank, lup blank, and luk blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sūtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल्, ओ, पू and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्-श्लु-लुपः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः,
(अदर्शनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms slu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of slu or lup.

Thus in अद् + शप् + लुक् + ति = अस्ति 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणाः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varanâ.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82),

"Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sūtra would have run thus:—"The disappearance is called luk, slu or lup." So that the disappearance of a base would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases âgastya, and kaupîṇya; which however is not intended. In that sūtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sūtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the bases of the words.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-
लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.

This sūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term 'pada' is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become 'pada' in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अमिचित् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked;' which is the Imperfect (लङ्) of दुह्, and is thus formed. अदोह् + तिप् = अदोह् + त् (III. 4. 100) = अदोह् + ° (VI. 1. 68) = अदोह् + (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह् is changed into ङ् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अधोह् + ° (VIII. 2. 37) = अधोह् (VIII. 2. 39) = अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛitti was understood in this sūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the *whole* of the affix is elided, and not when a *portion* of an affix is elided. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like आत्मीय and सङ्गमीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गम्. Thus आहन् + इद् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीबुद् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय् + अ. Here, सू a portion of the affix सीबुद् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आत्मीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + अस् = रायः, here, the change of ऐ into आय् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix अस्; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, *by virtue of being an affix*, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रायः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix अस्, we get the form रैकुलम्. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लुप्तताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुप्तता, अङ्गस्य, (प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप्तता शब्देन लुप्ते प्रत्यये यदङ्गं तस्य प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं न भवति ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लृ, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लृक्, इलृ, or लृप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words लृप् &c.; and by the word लोप. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word अङ्ग in this sūtra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prātipadika), and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving a case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word गर्गाः is the plural of the word गार्ग्यः. The word गार्ग्यः is formed by adding the affix यञ् to गर्ग (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicatory य् being to cause the vṛddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गार्ग्यः, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is लृक् of the affix यञ् when the word takes the plural. Here the affix यञ् is elided by the word लृक्, which means not only the elision of the य् of गार्ग्यः but also the shortening of आ into अ, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vṛddhing of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly वृष्टः is the 3rd per. dual present tense of वृञ् 'to clean.' It belongs to Adādi class in which the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no vṛddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base वृञ् is vṛddhied before verbal affixes).

Similarly जुहुतः 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word 'slu' (II. 4. 75, let slu be substituted in the room of śap after the verbs hu &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which शप् was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing लृ, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus कृ + णिच् + यक् + ते = कारि + यक् + ते = कार् + यक् + ते = कार्यते. Here the elision of the affix णिच् is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप्त 'seven,' पयः 'milk,' साम 'sāma veda.' Here in the word pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22

(after the words called *shat*, the जस् and शस् are elided by 'luk'). Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in *râjan*, 'a king,' 1. p. *râjānaḥ* 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the *anga*, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a *pada*. Thus:—पंचन् + जस् = पंचन् + ०, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word *pañchan* is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final न्.

अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां सनिविष्टानां योऽन्त्योच् तदादि शब्दरूपं टिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि.

This sūtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is टि; so also in सामसुत् the portion सुत्. The word टि occurs in sūtra III. 4. 79.

The word अचः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of *nirdhāraṇa* or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वं उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वासौवर्णं समुदायेऽन्त्यादलः पूर्वोयो वर्णः सोऽन्त्योपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पच्, भिह्, बुध्, इत् the letters अ, इ, उ, and ऋ are उपधा.

The word 'upadhâ' occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति, निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्दिष्टो पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be per-

formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ॠ followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into ए, ओ, ऐ, औ, (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus इधि + उदकम् = इधुदकम् ; so मधिवदम्, पचत्योदनम् ॥

The word nirdishṭa (meaning ‘exhibited’) has been used in the sūtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in अग्निचित्, the इ of अग्नि is not directly followed by the इ of चित्, there being the letter च् intervening, therefore, rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here : and we have no sandhi.

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, इति, उत्तरस्य,
(निर्दिष्टे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादिति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after उद्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उद् + स्थानम्. Here the word उद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of sthâna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of स्; we have उद् + स्थानम् = उत्थ-थानम्. Similarly in sūtra तिङ् इतिङ् (VNI.2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudâṭṭa.’) Here the word ‘atiṅah’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudâṭṭa accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus औदुनं पचति ; but not so in पचत्योदुनमिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, रूपम्,
शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दे स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य ग्राह्यं बोध्यं प्रत्याद्यं भवति न वा शब्दोऽर्थः शब्दसंज्ञां वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * सिचद्विशेषाणां वृत्ताद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * पितृर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * जिप्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * द्वित्वद्विशेषाणाञ्च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् * ॥

68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूप, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पाककः, ज्वलनः &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken.

This sūtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sūtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sūtra अग्नेर्दक् (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix 'dhak' comes after the word 'agni'." Thus अग्नि + दक् = आग्नेयम् "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्. Here the word अग्नि indicates the individual word-form अग्नि and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—"let there be optionally दक् after उदश्वित्." As औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or औदश्वितम्. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक्र, अरिष्ट, कालशेष, वण्डाहत and मथित, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus शधाच्चत्वाप् (I. 1. 20) and तरत्तमपौ चः (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'वृ' and 'च' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-

parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called *सिद्*, *पित्*, *जित्*, and *मित्*. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares, :—"वृक्ष 'tree' वृग 'deer,' दण्ड 'grass,' &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva." Here the word वृक्ष stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, वृक्ष. Thus we have dvandva-compound of वृक्ष + न्यमोक्ष, as वृक्षन्यमोक्षम् or वृक्षन्यमोक्षाः । Such sūtras are called *सिद्*.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of *पित्*. That sūtra means "the word पुष 'to feed' takes the affix एमुल् (अम्) when compounded with the word स्व." Here the word 'स्व' means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन 'wealth' are synonyms ; while स्व 'wealth' and गो 'cow' are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष् + एमुल् = स्वपोषम्. Similarly रैपोषम्, धनपोषम्, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम्. Such sūtras are called *पित्*.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of *जित्*. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being." Here the synonyms only of the word 'rājā' are taken, and neither the word-form 'rājā,' nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन् 'king' + सभा = इन्सभम् 'king's assembly,' ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभम् 'king's assembly.' But not राजसभम्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of *हित्*. The sūtra means 'the words पक्षि 'bird' मत्स्य 'fish' वृग 'deer,' take the affix ठक् when the meaning is the killer thereof." Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + ठक् = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer,' मात्स्यिकः, 'a fish-catcher.' शकुनि + ठक् = शाकुनिकः 'a vulture-killer.' But we cannot take the synonyms of 'पक्षि,' &c. except in the case of 'मत्स्य,' when we may take the word 'मीन.' As मात्स्यिकः and मैनिकः 'a fish killer.'

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्, सवर्णस्य, च, अप्रत्ययः (स्वरूपं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण् गृह्यमाण उदिच्च सवर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyahāra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicative letter, refer to their own form as well as to their

homogeneous letters, except when **they** are used as pratyāvās or affixes.

The pratyāhāra अण् in this sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyāhāra refers to the second ण् of जण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ढु, ढु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आङ्गुणः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ, गुण is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but महा + ईशः = महेशः. So also in sūtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति, and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168; says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तत्कालस्यात्मनातुल्यकालस्य गुणान्तरयुक्तस्य सवर्णस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

70. The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted उ. We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term आत्.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparaḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अत् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अत् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अत् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्.' Thus वृक्षैः. But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह,
इता, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेत्संज्ञकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्तन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāra अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क्.

Why do we say with the 'final' indicative letter? Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of द्वा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत्.

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य;
(स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधीयते सतदन्तस्यात्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्तिकम् ॥ * उगिह्वर्णमहणवर्जम् ॥ *

परिभाषा ॥ * यस्मिन्विधिस्तदावल्महणे ॥ *

72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots ending in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words ending in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टे + भितः = कष्टभितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that ends in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टे + परमभितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सूत्रनाडि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes

that have an indicatory इक् (उ, ऋ, ॠ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory इ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukrītavat will be sukrītavatī. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इम् says "after अ there is the affix इम्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus इक्ष + इम् = इक्षि 'the son of Daksha.'

Vart :—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhruvām yvor iyañ uvañau, means "iyañ and uvañ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrū, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows,' but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. भिवः, भुवः ॥

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, यस्य,

अचाम्, आदिः, तद्, वृद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचामध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आदिभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *गोत्रान्तादसमस्तवत्प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध संज्ञा वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *जिह्वाकात्परित्तिकात्परि वर्जम् ॥ *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vriddhi, is called vriddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्. The sūtra consists of five words :— वृद्धिः 'the vriddhi vowel,' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिः 'is first,' तद् 'that,' वृद्धम् 'is called vriddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vriddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vriddham. Thus the words माला, राज्ञा &c., have the first vowel आ a vriddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vriddham.

The word *vriddham* has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain *taddhita* affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix *छ* is added to *vriddham*. Thus *माला* + *छ* = *मालीयः*॥

Why do we say "*the first?*" Because a word like *सभासंनयनः*, which is not a *vriddha* word, will not admit of the affix *छ*. Its corresponding derivative will be *सभासंनयनः* ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vriddham*. Thus *देवदत्त* + *छ* = *देवदत्तीया*, or we may have *देवदत्ता*.

Vart:—A compound ending in a *Gotra* word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus *रौढि* is a *Gotra* word and also *vriddham*. Its compound *घृतरौढि* will be regarded as a *vriddham* too, for the addition of the affix. As *घृतरौढि* + *छ* = *घृतरौढीया*: 'the students of *Ghṛitarauḍhi*.' So also *ओदनपाणिनीयाः*, *बृद्धाम्भीयाः*, *बृद्धकाश्यपीयाः* &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of *जिह्वाकात्य* and *हरितकात्य*. They do not take *छ*. Thus *जैह्वाकाता* and *हारितकाता* :

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वृद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

74. The words *tyad* &c., are also called *vriddham*.

The *त्यद्* &c. have been given in the list of *sarvanāmas*. See *sūtra* 27. These words are also called *vriddham*. Thus *तद्* + *छ* = *तदीयम्*, *एतदीयम्*, *अतदीयम्*, *इतदीयम्*, *उतदीयम्*, *एतदीयम्*, *उतदीयम्*, *इतदीयम्* &c.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्या-
चामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्राग्देशाभिधाने वृद्ध संज्ञं भवति ॥

75. A word that has the letters *ए* and *ओ* as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of *vriddham*, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As *गोनर्ह* is a country of the east, it is a *vriddham* word and we have *गोनर्ह* + *छ* = *गोनर्हीयः*; similarly *एणीपचनीयम्*, *भोजकदीयः* :

The word *prāk* in the *sūtra* has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kuṇin takes the word *prāk* as an epithet qualifying the word *âchârya*, 'professor' understood. In that case the *sūtra* will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called *vriddham*.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word *prāk* as qualifying the word *deśa* and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ' ? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called *vriddham*: and as such will not take the affix छ; as आहिच्छन्, कान्यकुब्जः.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like देवदत्तः which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be दैवदत्तः, born in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोमति we have गौमता: 'fish born in the river Gomati.'



ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाङ् कुटादिभ्योऽञ् णिङित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्-कुट-आदिभ्यः, अङ्णिङ् डि, त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्कुटादिभ्यः परेऽङ्णितः प्रत्यया डितो भवन्ति, डिङ्ङवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * व्यच्चेः कुटादित्वमनसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb gāṅ 'to study' and the verb kut 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory इ (nit), except those affixes which have an indicatory ञ् (ñit) or ण् (ṇit).

This is an atides'a sūtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory इ, to produce the same effect as if they were really डिन्.

The root गाङ् is substituted for the verb इङ् in certain tenses, in which the verb इङ् is defective (II, 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the Tudādi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कुट् 'to be crooked' and ending with कुङ् 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a इ with the exception of those affixes which are ञित् or णित्.

Thus from गाङ् we have in the aorist the form अध्यगीष्ट्; which is thus evolved. अधि + भट् + इङ् + सिच् + त = अध्य + गा + स् + त (II. 4. 50.) = अध्य + गी + स्त (VI. 4. 66) = अध्यगीष्ट् 'he studied,' अध्यगीषतां 'they two studied'; अध्यगीषत 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the आ is changed into ई before the affix सिच्, which is regarded as डिन्.

Similarly, after the verbs कुट् &c., all affixes are treated as डिन्, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कुट् + तृच् (III. 1. 133) = कुट् + इट् + तृच् (VII. 2. 35) = कुटित्, nominative singular कुटिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix तृच् being, regarded as डिन् does not cause the guṇa substitution of the उ of कुट्, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुमुन् and तव्यस्, we have कुटितुम् and कुटितव्यस्. So on with all the forty roots of kuṭādi class: e.g. उत्पुडिता, उत्पुडितुम्, उत्पुडितव्यम्.

But the affixes marked with झ् or ञ् will not be so treated. Thus णिच् by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. उत्कुद् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = उत्कोद् + इ + अ + ति = उत्कोदयति. Here there is guṇa of the उ of कुद्. So also before the affix णल् of the perfect tense, we have उच्चुकोद्, and before the affix ण्वल् we have उत्कोदकः ।

Vārlika:—The root व्यच् 'to deceive,' is also treated like kuṭādi verbs, except before the affix अस्. As विचिना 'he shall deceive,' विचितुम् 'for the purpose of deceiving' विचितव्यम् &c. Here there is samprasāraṇa before the nit terminations ता, तुम् and तव्यम् and the य of व्यच् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix अस् is not nit and consequently there is no samprasāraṇa before it. Thus उरुव्यचाः 'an imp.'

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि विजः, इट्, (डित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओविजी भयचलनयोः अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो डिङ्गवति ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35) is nit after the root *vi*., 'to fear, to move.'

The root विज् does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ, because those terminations are treated like डित् affixes. The root विज् belongs to the Tudādi class. Thus उद्दिजिता 'he will be agitated,' उद्दिजितुम् 'for the purpose of being agitated,' उद्दिजितव्यम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इद्, are not like डित्, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as guṇation &c. As उत् + विज् + ल्युद् = उद्देजनम्, उद्देजनीयम् 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऊर्णोः । (डित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णम् आच्छादने अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो विभाषा डिङ्गवति ॥

3. After the verb ūrna 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment इद् is regarded optionally like nit.

Thus before the इडादि termination इता of the future, we may have either ओर्णुविता or ओर्णविता "he will cover."

The equation of the form is:—अ + ऊर्णु + इ + ता = अ + ऊर्णु + इता (VI. 4. 77) = ओर्णुविता. When the affix is not regarded as डित्, it produces guṇa, and we have the second form ओर्णविता ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इद्, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as ओर्णु + ल्युद् = ओर्णो + अनम् = ओर्णवनम्, 'covering,' ओर्णवनीयम् 'which ought to be covered'

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम्, अप्-इत, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकं यदपिचिन्दिभूभवति ॥

4. A *Sārvadhātuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory ण् is like णित्.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka*. The *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a ण् and also the tense terminations called तिङ्, the latter are the following :—

	sing.	dual.	pl.	
3rd Pers.	तिष्	तस्	द्भि	} Parasmaipada.
2nd Pers.	सिष्	यस्	थ	
1st Pers.	मिष्	वस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त	आताम्	भ	} Atmanepada.
2nd Pers.	थास्	आयाम्	ध्वम्	
1st Pers.	इद्	वहि	महिङ्	

Except the terminations marked with a ण् such as ति, सि and मि. &c., all the other *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are ङित्. The शित् terminations like शत्, शानच्, &c., are also *Sārvadhātuka* terminations. These affixes are also ङित्, unless they have a ण् as indicatory, as शण्. Thus the affix तस्, being an अपित् *Sārvadhātuka* affix, is a ङित्, and before it the vowel is not gunated e. g. कुरुतः 'they two do.' The equation is:—कृ+उ+तस् (the उ is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कर्+उ+तस् (VI. 4. 110) = कुरु+तस् = कुरुतः ॥ Similarly कुर्वन्ति 'they do.'

Here the अ of कर् is changed into उ and we have कुरु, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the अ of the verb कर् is changed into उ before those *Sārvadhātuka* affixes which are ङित् or कित्. Here तस् is a *Sārvadhātuka* ङित् affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the ङित् terminations.

Why do we say 'a *Sārvadhātuka* affix'? Because an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, though not being marked with an indicatory ण् will not be a ङित्. As कर्त्ता 'doer,' कर्तुम् 'to do,' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory ण्'? If a *Sārvadhātuka* affix has an indicatory ण् it will not be णित्. As कृ+उ+तिष् = करोति 'he does' करोषि 'thou doest,' करोमि 'I do.'

असंयोगलिट् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात्, लिट्, कित्, (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगान्ताद्भातोः परो लिट् प्रत्ययोऽपित् किङ्मभवति ॥

5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क् (kit).

With this sūtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as कित् though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of लिट् (Perfect) not being पित् terminations, are कित्, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अपित् (not being marked with प्) qualifies this sūtra also, being drawn from the previous sūtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from भिद् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-*pit* second person perfect is बिभिदतुः 'thou hast torn.' बिभिदुः 'They have torn.'

Similarly चिच्छिदतुः 'thou hast divided'; चिच्छिदुः 'you divided'; ईजतुः and ईजुः.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus स्रस् 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—सस्रस् + अतुस् = सस्रसतुः. Here the affix is not treated as *kit*; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvāra) of स्रस् by Rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from ध्वस् we have दध्वसे.

The *pit* terminations of the Perfect are not *kit*; and therefore we have बिभेद 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination शत् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिप् is regarded like तिप् by I 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च, (लिट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो लिट् प्रत्ययः कित्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अन्यिग्रन्थिदम्भित्वङ्गीर्णमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The Lit. or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are *kit*.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्ध् as in the following examples:—समीधे दत्सुहन्तम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुत्र ईधे अयर्वणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूव, बभूविष ॥

Part. :—This rule should be applied also to the verbs ऋद् 'to loosen,' ऋय 'to fasten,' दृश् 'to injure' and स्वेष्ट 'to embrace.' As ऋयतुः 'thou hast

loosened,' श्रय्+अतुस्=श्रय्+अतुस्. (The *त्* is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sūtra, viz. VI. 4. 24).

=श्रय्+श्रय्+अतुस्=श्रयतुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly श्रयतुः; देभतुः, परिषत्स्वजे, परिषत्स्वजाते.

मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृड-मृद-गुध
कुष-क्लिश-वद-वसः, क्त्वा (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृड मृद गुध कुष क्लिश वद वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वाप्रत्ययः किङ्वति ॥

7. The affix *ktvā* is *kit* after *mr̥id* 'to be gracious,' *mr̥id* 'to squeeze,' *gudh* 'to wrap up,' *kush* 'to tear,' *klis* 'to suffer,' *vad* 'to speak' and *vas* 'to dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *ktvā* is *kit*. It might be said, what was the necessity of this sūtra? The affix *ktvā* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though *ktvā* is a *kit* affix generally; yet there is a later sūtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix क्त्वा is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if क्त्वा is added to those verbs, which are called सेद् verbs, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit*. Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेद्. Therefore शी+इ+क्त्वा=शे+इ+क्त्वा=शायित्वा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sūtra are सेद् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The क्त्वा before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sūtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sūtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sūtra, in favour of these verbs, where the affix *ktvā* is necessarily *kit*. Thus we have मृडित्वा 'being gracious,' मृदित्वा 'having squeezed,' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' क्लिशित्वा 'having suffered,' उदित्वा 'having spoken,' उषित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व of वद् and वस् are changed into उ by the rule of Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुध्, कुष् and क्लिष्, sūtra 26 would have made क्त्वा optionally *kit*; the present sūtra makes it necessarily so.

रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-
ग्रहि-स्वपि-प्रच्छ-संश्च, (क्त्वा कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रहि स्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संश्च क्त्वा च कितौ भवतः ॥

8. The affixes *ktvā* and *san* (III. 1. 7) are *kit*, after *rud* 'to weep,' *vid* 'to know,' *mush* 'to steal,' *grah* 'to seize,' *svap* 'to sleep,' and *prachchh* 'to ask.'

After the above mentioned verbs the *ktivā* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इत्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुदिसिषति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विदिसिषति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16.) 'having taken,' जिघृक्षति 'he wishes to take'; सुषित्वा 'having stolen,' सुषिसिषति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्तवा (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' सुषुप्सति 'he wishes to sleep,' पृष्ट्वा (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked' पिपृच्छिषति 'he wishes to ask.' The verb ग्रह् is changed into गृह्, स्वप् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into पृच्छ before *kit* affixes by samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 16.)

The *ktivā* and *san* would have been *optionally kit* after the verbs रुद्, विद् and सुष् by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sūtra makes them *necessarily* so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb ग्रह्, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sūtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix क्त्वा is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are anīṭ, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the क्त्वा being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory & would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sūtra VII. 2. 75.

इको भल्ल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानान् ॥ इकः, भल्ल् (सन्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्यातोः परो झलादिः सन् किञ्चनति ॥

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the *Pratyāhāra jhal* is like *kit*, after verbs ending in *ik* vowels.

In this sūtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of क्त्वा. The sūtra literally translated means:—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyāhāra* इक् contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, ए. The *Pratyāhāra* झल् contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is झलादि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with स् a letter of the झल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a झलादि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus from जि 'to conquer,' which is a verb ending in इक्, we have जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer,' यु 'to mix' युयुषति; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीर्षति, वृ 'to cross' वित्तीर्षति, भू 'to be' बुभूषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or ए, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take guṇa. As:—स्मि 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative सिस्मिषति.

The झलदि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As विपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्या we have तिष्ठासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the guṇa of the vowel of the root, as in चिचीषति 'wishes to collect', तुष्टुषति 'wishes to praise.' "To this it might be objected "this cannot be: for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal*, i.e., not preceded by the augment इद् follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs हन् and गन्) would prevent guṇa by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied: "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix णि before Ardha-dhātuka affixes not taking the augment इद्. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of णि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sūtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिचीषति scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply: in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pāṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb ज्ञप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb ज्ञप् belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix णिच्. Thus ज्ञप् + णिच् + सन् + तिप्; here the present sūtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the guṇa of the इ of ज्ञप्ति is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play and causes the elision of णिच् and we have ज्ञप् + स + ति = ज्ञप्सति (VII. 4. 5 आ changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, (इक्, सन्, भल्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्धलः परः सन् भलादिः किञ्चवति ॥

10. And after a root ending in a consonant and preceded by a vowel of the *pratyāhara ik*, the affix *san* beginning with a *jhal* consonant, is like *kit*.

Thus from भिद् 'to pierce' we have बिभित्सति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिद् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant द्; the affix स is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfils all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As यञ् + सन् + ते = यियन्ते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix, there would have been samprasâraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasâraṇa of the verbs वच्, स्वप्, and यञ् &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a भलादि सन् it is not *kit*; and causes guṇation *etcetera*. As वृत् + इ + सन् = विवर्तिषते 'he desires to be.' Here there is guṇa of *ri*.

Roots like दम्भ्, तृह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हल् of the sūtra means *jāli* or class; thus दम्भ् + सन् + तिप् = दम्भ् + सति (VI. 4. 24, the *m* being elided by treating सन् as कित्) = धीप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्सिच्चात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-सिच्चा, आत्मनेपदेषु (हलन्तात् इक भल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिकसमीपाद्भलः परौ झलादी लिङ्सिच्चा आत्मनेपदेषु परतः कितौ भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyâhâra, the substitutes of *lin* (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of *jhal* pratyâhâra, are *kit*, when the âtmanepada affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words लिङ्सिच्चा and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *lin* and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvṛttili* of the word सन्, that began with sūtra 8, does not extend further. As:— भित्सीष्ट 'may he break' and भुत्सीष्ट 'may he know,' अभिन्न 'he broke,' अबुद्ध 'he knew.'

Thus the root भिद् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyâhâra; after this root the *jhalâdi* affix सीष्ट of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्; therefore there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भिद् + सीष्ट = भित्सीष्ट. Similarly in the Aorist we have अभिन्न = अ + भिद् + सिच् + त, the स of the Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also बुद् + सीष्ट = भुत् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 37) = भुत्सीष्ट.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यञ् + सीष्ट = यञ् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 41) = यत्सीष्ट (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is अयष्ट. Had the affixes सीष्ट and त been *kit*, they would have caused samprasâraṇa of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of सृज् 'to let off,' is अ + सृज् + सीत् = अ + सृ + अ + ज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = असृज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = असृजसीत् (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from दृश् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अदृक्षत्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अम् is the augment of the verbs सृज् and दृश् when an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicatory क् follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेष्टि, Aor. अचेष्ट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply, if these affixes are not *jhalādi*, but take the augment इद्. Thus Ben. वृत् + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट, so also Aorist अवर्तिष्ट. Had they been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of द्विष् is द्वेष्टा and द्वेक्ष्यति.

उच्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, च, (लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु भल कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्यान्ताद्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु भलादी कितौ भवतः ॥

12. And after verbs ending in क्, the substitutes of *lin* and the affix *sich*, are *kit*, when they begin with *jhal*, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from कृ 'to do' the benedictive is कृषीष्ट 'may he do.' So also सिच्, as अकृत 'he did.' So also दृषीष्ट and अदृत.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate इ; as वृ + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ + वृ + इष्ट = अवर्षिष्ट or अवरीष्ट 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

वा गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, गमः, (लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु भल कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु भलादी वा कितौ भवतः ॥

13. Optionally after the verb *gam*, the *lin* and *sich* beginning with *jhal* consonants, in the Atmanepada, are *kit*.

The verb गम् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सम् by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिच्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms :—संगसीष्ट or संगसीष्ट in the Benedictive ; and समगत or समगस्त in the *sich* Aorist. These forms are thus evolved :—

सम् + गम् + सीष्ट = सम् + ग + सीष्ट (VI. 4. 37) = संगसीष्ट 'may he combine.' Here the nasal म् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीष्ट as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगसीष्ट.

So in the aorist सम् + गम् + सिच् + त = सम् + अद् + गम् + त (VI. 4. 37) = समगत. The सिच् being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिच्, if a *jhal* follows). So when म् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिच्. But in the alternative we have समगस्त.

हनः सिच् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, सिच् । (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः परः सिच् किङ्वति ॥

14. The *sich* Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* 'to kill.'

As आहत, आहसाताम्, आहसत are the aorist of हन्. When a सिच् or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिच् is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sūtra; hence the repetition of the word *sich* in this sūtra. The sūtras 12 and 13 were governed both by लिङ् and सिच्; from and after this sūtra, the governing power of लिङ् ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sūtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sūtras; though as regards this sūtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sich* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sich*, *kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमो गन्धने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, गन्धने, (सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोर्गन्धने वर्त्तमानान्तरः सिच् प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yam*, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word *gandhana* means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb यम् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यम् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आद् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उद् + आ + यम् + त = उदायत = 'he divulged,' उदायसाताम्, उदायसत, the *sich* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यम् has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिच् in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उदायंस्त पादम् 'he raised the foot.' So also उदायंस्त कृपादुदकम् 'he raised water from the

well.' Though here the verb *yam* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by सम्, उत् and आङ् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषापयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपयमने, (यमः सिच्
आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोरुपयमने वर्त्तमानात् परः सिच् प्रत्ययो विभाषा किङ्कवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

16. The *sich* before âtmanepada affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायंस्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायंस्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sūtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यस् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule I. 3. 56.

स्थाध्वोरिच्च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था, ध्वोः, इत्, च (सिजात्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्धातोः धुसंज्ञकानाञ्च इकारश्चान्तदेशः सिच् किङ्कवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthâ* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their आ into इ before these terminations.

The roots स्था 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place,' दे 'to pity,' धे 'to feed,' दो 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्थित, 'he worshipped', उपास्थिवाताम्, उपास्थिबत; अदित 'he gave', अधित 'he fed.'

न क्वा सेट् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्वा, सेट्, (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययः सेट्ण किङ्कवति ॥

18. The affix *ktivâ* when it takes the augment इद् (*i. e.* when it is *sét*.) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktivâ* (the actual affix being *tvâ*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *sét*. If it is *sét*, *i. e.* has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृत्वा, हुत्वा, the affix स्था is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and हु 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदित्वा, देवित्वा, वर्तित्वा, from स्विद्, दिद् and वृत् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before त्वा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sūtra relates to क्त्वा *ktvā* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix कित् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when सेद्, will remain कित्, as नि+ग्रह्+इद् + कित् = नि+ग्रह्+इ+ ति (VI. 1. 16) = निगृहीति: (VII 2. 37). Here there is samprasāraṇa by treating *ktin* as *kit*. So also in उपस्निहति: and निकुचति: there is no guṇa. After ग्रह् &c., the affix कित् takes the augment इद् by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2, 9 which see.

निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, शीङ्-स्विद्-
मिदि-क्ष्विदि-धृषः (न, सेट्, कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ् स्विदि मिदि क्ष्विदि धृष् इत्येतेभ्यः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः सेण् न किङ्गवति ॥

19. The *sét* Nishthâ affixes are not *kit* after the verbs *s'î* 'to lie down,' *svid* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *ksbvid* 'to be unctuous,' and *dhṛish* 'to offend.'

The Nishthâs are *kta* and *ktavatu* (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus शयितः slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रक्ष्वेदितः; प्रस्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रक्ष्वेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the Nishthâ affixes are also *sét*.

The roots स्विद् (शिष्विदा), मिद् (मिमिदा), क्षिद् (क्षिप्तिदा) and धृष् (जिधृषा) have all long भा as indicatory, as well as the syllable मि. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *aniti*, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान्. But when the Nishthâ affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *sét*. (VII. 2. 17). It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

मृषस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ मृषः, तितिक्षायाम् (निष्ठा सेट् न कित्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मृषेर्धातोः तितिक्षायामर्थे निष्ठासेण् न किङ्गवति ॥

20. The *sét* Nishthâ is not *kit* after the verb *mṛish* when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्षितः 'forborne,' मर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the *sét* nishthâ will be कित्. As अप्रमृषितं वाक्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मयोग्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्,
भाव-आदि-कर्मयोगः, अन्यतरस्याम् (निष्ठा सेङ् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्भातोः परो भवे आदिकर्मणि च वर्त्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्ययः सेङ् अन्यतरस्यां न
किञ्चनति ॥

21. The *sét Nishthâ* is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate इ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the *sét Nishthâ* suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate इ if those verbs are used impersonally (*bhâva*) or denote the beginning of action (*âdi-karman*). Thus युत् 'to shine', युतितमनेन or योतितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रयोतितः or प्रयुतितः 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or *upadhâ* has been defined in *sûtra* 65 ante.

If the verb has any other vowel than इ as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिखितमनेन 'written by him.' Here इ is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the *Nishthâ* does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or आदिकर्म 'beginning of action', but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुचितं कार्षापणं ददाति 'he gives a shining coin (called *kârshâpaṇa*).' Here the word रुचित 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the *Nishthâ* which takes the intermediate इ and not to others as प्रभुक्त भोजनः 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the *vikaraṇa* णप् *i.e.*, the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus युष् 'to wrap up' belongs to *Divâdi* class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as युधितं.

पूङः क्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, क्वा , च (सेट्, कित्, न निष्ठा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः क्वा च सेणन किञ्चनति ॥

22. The *sét Nishthâ* and the *sét ktvâ* are not *kit* after the verb *pûn* 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous *sûtra* 21 does not govern this *sûtra*, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next *sûtra* 23; of which there would have been no necessity had the word 'optionally' governing force in this *sûtra*, for then this would have also governed the next *sûtra*. The *anuvṛtti* of न सेट् however is to be read in this *sûtra*.

By rule VII. 2. 51, after the verb पू the affixes Nishṭhā and क्त्वा *ktvā* take the intermediate इ. So that क्त्वा *ktvā*, being *sét* (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sūtra, when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्त्वा *ktvā* in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पवितः, पवितवान्

नोपधात् थफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-थ-फ-अन्तात्-
वा (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारोपधाद्वातोस्यकारान्तात्फकारान्ताच्च परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् वा न किङ्वति ॥

23. The *sét. ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs having a penultimate न् and ending in थ and फ्.

The *sét. ktvā* may or may not be *kit* after the verbs ending in थ् or फ् preceded by a nasal. The result of being *kit* will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from मथ् we have मथित्वा or मन्थित्वा 'having twisted,' गुणित्वा or गुणित्वा 'having tied/round,' अथित्वा or अन्थित्वा.

The word "Nishṭhā" does not govern this sūtra, and comes to an end with the last sūtra.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न् though they may end in थ् or फ्. As रेफित्वा 'having reviled,' गोफित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the स्वा *tvā* being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिक् and गुक् have been gunated.

A verb may have a penultimate न्, but if it has not final थ् or फ्, the rule does not apply. As संत् + इत्वा = संसित्वा 'having dropped,' धंसित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been *kit*, the nasal would have been dropped.

वञ्चिलुञ्जत्यृतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चि-लुञ्ज चि-ऋतः, च, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चि लुञ्ज कृत् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् वा न किङ्वति ॥

24. The *sét. ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs *vañch* 'to cheat' *luñch* 'to pluck' and *rit* 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the *ktvā* affix being *sét*, may or may not be *kit*. As वञ्चित्वा or वञ्चित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुञ्चित्वा or लुञ्चित्वा 'having plucked,' कृतित्वा or कृतित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb कृत् *rit* takes the affix ईवद् it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III, 1. 20.

When the *ktivā* is not *sét*, but *ahit*, then there is no option allowed.
As वच् + त्वा = वत्त्वा.

तृषिमृषिकृशोः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृषि-मृषि-कृशोः,
काश्यपस्य, (क्ता सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृषि मृषि कृषि इत्येतेभ्यः परः त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् काश्यपस्याचार्यस्य मते वा न
कृत्वात् ॥

25. The *sét ktvā* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kâs'yapa, after the verbs *trish* 'to be thirsty,' *mrish* 'to sprinkle,' and *kris* 'to become lean.'

As तृषित्वा or तर्षित्वा 'having thirsted,' मृषित्वा or मर्षित्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृषित्वा or कर्षित्वा 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the *sét ktvā* is never *kit*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kâsyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The वा is already understood in this sūtra by Anuvṛitti from sūtra 23.

रलो व्युपधाद्भलादेः संश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ-इ-उपधाद्,
हल्-आदेः, सन्, च (वासेट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधादिकारोपधाच्चधातो रलन्ताद्भलादेः परः संश्च त्वाच सेटो वा कितो
भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratyâhâra*, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *ktivā* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

The wording of this sūtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words :—

1. रलः *ralah*, ablative of रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratîyâhâra ral* i.e., all the consonants except य् *y* and व् *v*) :—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य् *y* and व् *v*.

2. व्युपधात् means "after penultimate वी." It is a compound of वी + उपधा. The वी itself is a compound of उ + इ = वि, in the dual वी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ *i* or उ *u* long or short."

3. ह्लादेः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संश्च means "and *san*."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रल् letter in the end, a हल् in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktivā* and *san* as कित्.

Thus द्युत् 'to shine,' makes द्युत्तिस्वा or द्योत्तिस्वा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes लिखिस्वा or लेखिस्वा.

Similarly in *san* affix we have लिखिष्यति or लिखेति 'he wishes to write', दिद्युतिष्यते or दियोतिष्यते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than र्त्. As दिव् + त्वा = दिवत्स्वा; its desiderative will be दिवेष्यति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ. As वृत् + त्वा = वरिस्वा. Des. विवर्तिष्यते.

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एदिस्वा and एविष्यति. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the त्वा and सन् are *aniti*. As मुत्त्वा, बुभुक्षते.

In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like क्तिन् and क्ति is comprised.

ऊकालोऽङ् ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊ-कालः अच्, ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-प्लुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उ ऊ ऋ इत्येवं कालोऽङ् यथाक्रमं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत इत्येवं संज्ञो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dîrgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* having one mātrā or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their mātrā. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17.

The word *kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As इधि 'curd', मधु 'honey'. Here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्ताङ् अन्वात् Devadatta! Here आ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras: I, 2. 47; VII. 4. 25; VIII. 2. 82.

अचश्च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः च, (ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुताः स्वसंज्ञावाचिष्यमाणा अचश्चस्थाने वदितव्याः ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a paribhasha sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms short, 'long' and 'prolated' are to be applied. When in this book 'short'

'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra 1. 2. 47.¹ "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:—the *hrasva* is substituted for the final *vowel* of the crude-form. As. ऐ अतिरि, नौ अतिरु, गा उपयु.

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant. As सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम्.

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25² teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter ञ्, except *krit* and *Sārvadhātuka* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra which will then be "of an inflective base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि+यङ्+त=चीयते 'it is collected'; श्रु+य+त=श्रूयते 'it is heard.' Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As भिद्+य+ते=भियते 'it is divided,' छिद्यते it is pierced.'

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84,³ declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the *दि* portion of the word in the vocative. (The word *दि* is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:—"Pluta is substituted in the place of the vowel of the *दि* &c." Thus देवदत्त३, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्त३ O Yajñadatta!

Why do we say "in the place of *vowels* only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the *दि* and not of the consonant. As अग्निचिद्, सोमसुद्. Here the syllables इद् and उद् are *दि*, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant त्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *hrasva*, *dirgha*, and *pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, युष्माद्, युभिः See I. 1. 4.

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरुपलभ्यमानो योअच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called *udātta* or *acute* accent. As अग्निः *agniḥ*, here *i* has the acute accent. The *udātta* is not marked

(¹) इत्यो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ (²) अकृतसर्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घिः ॥ (³) वाक्यस्यदेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ दूराद्भूतेच ॥

in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called *udatta*. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate, &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called *udatta*. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1, 3.¹ "The first vowel of an affix has the *udatta* accent." As कृ + तव्यम् = कर्तव्यम् *kartavyam*.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudatta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अग्निः *agniḥ*, here अ has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or *anudatta* is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the *anudatta* is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4. ² "the case terminations called सप् and those affixes that have an indicative प् are *anudatta*" &c. As त्वयः, बोधानि.

In pronouncing an *anudatta* vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अच्, उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

31. The vowel that has the combination of *Udatta* and *Anudatta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The *svarita* or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185.³ "The affixes having an indicative त् have *svarita* accent." As कन्या *kanyā*, शिर्क्यम् *s'ikyām*, क्व *kvā*.

(¹) आद्युदात्तश्च ॥

(²) अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥

(³) तित्स्वरितम् ॥

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धह्रस्वम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः,
उदात्तम्, अर्द्ध-ह्रस्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वरितस्य आश्वर्द्धह्रस्वपुत्रात्तम् भवति ॥

32. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udātta*, to the extent of a half measure, of prosodial length.

It has been defined that *svarita* accent is a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in *svarita*, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its *mātrā* being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose *mātrās* are two, be *svarita* then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udātta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the *udātta* portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in *सिक्यम्* *s'ikyam*, the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half grave or monotony; in *कन्या* *kanyā*, the long *ā* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in *मानवकोऽ* *mānavakā*, here *a* prolated is *svarita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वाक्यं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ सति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called *Ekas'ruti* or monotony.

Monotony or *Ekas'ruti* is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ताऽ 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into *pluta* by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII. 2. 84 दूरात्तेष) ॥

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्तुङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अज-
पन्तुङ्खसामसु, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जपन्तुङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामेकश्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûnkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* vedas.

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekas'ruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyûnkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udatta and others with anudatta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—अग्निर्धृद्वाहिदः क्रकुत्सतिः पृथिव्या व्ययम् । अपान् रेतांसि जिन्वतोऽम् (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents :—As नमस्ते वसो विहवेर्षस्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekas'ruti.

In the *sâma* chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekas'ruti there. As ए३विद्वं समन्विणं दहा३. Here there is no Ekas'ruti.

उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्, वा,
वषट्कारः, (यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः उच्चैस्तरां वा भवति एक श्रुतिर्वा ॥

35: The pronunciation of the word vashat, may optionally be by raising the voice (acutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sūtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text? It could have been used with as much ease as वषट्. To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्राः हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Pāṇini's aphorisms, Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट्.

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकश्रुतिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एक श्रुतिर्भवति पक्षान्तरे वैस्वर्यमेव भवति ॥

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekas'ruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhashā).

The option allowed by this sūtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent : but in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekas'ruti ; while some say there must be Ekas'ruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmanas.

Thus :—अग्निमीले पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीले पुरोहितं. "I praise Agni the purohita."

The word वा "optionally" of the last sūtra could easily have been read into this sūtra by the rule of *anuvṛitti* ; why then use the word विभाषा "optional" again ? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛitti* of the word अन्नकर्माणि, which was understood in the last sūtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the *anuvṛitti* of वा, the other word also would have been attracted ; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य उदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्मण्यायाम् स्वरितस्य, तु, उदात्तः, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुब्रह्मण्यायामेकश्रुतिर्भवति । यस्तु लक्षणप्राप्तः स्वरितस्तस्योदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmanya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the *udâtta* accent instead.

The subrahmanya hymns are portions of the Rig Veda mentioned in the s'atapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekas'ruti in the case of certain prayers called s'ubrahmanya. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekas'ruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmanya prayers there is no ekas'ruti ; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udâtta accent instead.

As सुब्रह्मण्योऽ निन्द्वागच्छ इति आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix वृत् to the word सुब्रह्मण, and this वृत् will get *svarita*

accent by VI. 1. 185, (त्तिस्वरित्) as it has an indicatory त्; by the present sūtra, this nascent *svārīta* is changed into *udāṭṭa*. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, इ is *udāṭṭa*, the अ of Indra is *anudāṭṭa* VI. 1. 198¹. The *anudāṭṭa* preceded by an *udāṭṭa* is changed into *svārīta* (VIII. 4. 66)².

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become *svārīta*, but by the present sūtra this nascent *svārīta* is changed into an *udāṭṭa*. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become *udāṭṭa*. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udāṭṭa*; the next letter which was *anudāṭṭa* becomes *svārīta*, and from *svārīta* it is changed to *udāṭṭa* by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only *anudāṭṭa*. So also in हरिव आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters व and च्छ are *anudāṭṭa*, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः, अनुदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानु दात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

38. The word *deva* and *Brahmāṇa* in those hymns have *anudāṭṭa* accent.

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmanya hymns, *svārīta* accent is replaced by *udāṭṭa* accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favour of the words देवा and ब्रह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anudāṭṭa* accent. As देवा ब्रह्मण आगच्छत 'come ye Devās and Brahmanas.' Here the word देवा gets *udāṭṭa* accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198¹. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा *vā* has originally an *anudāṭṭa* accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66² (an *anudāṭṭa* following an *udāṭṭa* is changed into *svārīta*) would have been changed into *svārīta*. This *svārīta*, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into *udāṭṭa*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudāṭṭa*. In other words, the original *anudāṭṭa* remains unchanged.

स्वरितासंहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात्, संहितायाम्, अनुदात्तानाम्, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The Monotony takes the place of the *anudāṭṭa* vowels which follow the *svārīta* vowels. in close proximity (*sanhitā*).

Sanhitā is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

(¹) आगच्छितस्य च ॥

(²) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥

the *anudatta* accents become *Ekas'ruti* if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वती (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

Here the word इमं has *udatta* on the last syllable: the word मे is originally *anudatta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66¹ following an *udatta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svarita* all *anudatta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by *ekas'ruti*. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे, यमुने &c., had *anudatta* accent by rule VIII. 1. 19² (all vocatives get *anudatta* if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" has been used in the *sûtra* to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of *anudatta* into *ekas'ruti*. The word *sanhita* will be defined in *sûtra* I. 4. 109³.

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितपरस्य ,
सन्नतरः, (अनुदात्तानाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतरादेशो भवति ॥

40. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudatta* vowel, which has an *udatta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous *sûtra* it was said that an *anudatta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes *Ekas'ruti*. If, however, such an *anudatta* is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*, it does not become *Ekas'ruti* but becomes *sannatara*, i.e. lower than *anudatta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudatta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the *sûtra*. There is another explanation which does not take the *anuvṛitti* of *Ekas'ruti* in this *sûtra*. The *anudatta* is replaced by *sannatara* when such *anudatta* immediately precedes an *udatta* or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called *anudatta*. As देवा मरुतः पृथिनुमातरोः ॥

Here the word मातः is *anudatta*. The word अपः has *udatta* on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.⁴ In the phrase मातरोः (मातः + अपः) the syllable ते is *anudatta*, because *anudatta* + *anudatta* = *anudatta*. This *anudatta* ओ, preceding the *udatta* षः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः, एक-अल्, प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृक्त इतीयं संज्ञा भवति एकाल् यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

(¹) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (²) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (³) परः सनिकर्षः संहिता ॥

(⁴) उडिदम्पदाद्यप्पुत्रैद्युभ्यः ॥

41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix *त्* in *असेधीत्* is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the affix *क्विन्* *kvīn* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters *क्*, *इ*, and *न्* are merely indicatory, the real affix is *व्*. This *व्* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67¹ (the *Aprikta* *व्* is elided). Thus घृतस्पृक् + क्विन् = घृतस्पृक् + व् = (III. 2. 58)² = घृतस्पृक् ॥ अंशभज् + विव = अंशभाक् 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62).³ An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As *हृदि* : 'a ladle' formed by the *Uṇādi* affix *विन्* (वृहत्यां विन्).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणपदः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

42. A *Tat-purusha* compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or *Appositional Determinative* compound.

"*Karmadhāraya* or *Appositional Determinative* compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (*Tat-purusha*). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like *नीलोत्पलं* 'the blue lotus', *परमात्मा* 'the supreme spirit' &c., are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (*samānādhikaraṇa*), whereas in other *Tat-purushas*, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, *परमराज्यम्*, is a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a *karmadhāraya* compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable *रा* by rule VI. 2. 130,⁴ (the word *राज्यम्* has *udatta* on the first syllable in *Tat-purusha* compounds, except in *karmadhāraya*).

Similarly *पाचिका + वृन्दारिका* = *पाचकवृन्दारिका* (VI. 3. 42.⁵ the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the *karmadhāraya*).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a *Tat-purusha* compound, it won't be *karmadhāraya*. As *पाचिका + भार्या* = *पाचिकाभार्या*. 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and therefore the word *पाचिका* retains its gender sign.

(¹) वेरयुक्तस्य ॥ (²) स्पृशोऽनुद के क्विन् ॥ (³) भजोषिवः ॥ (⁴) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥

(⁵) पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhāraya:—ब्राह्मण राज्यम् *Brahmaṇa rājyam*, 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udatta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समासउपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमा-निर्दिष्टम्, समासे, उपसर्जनम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमया विभक्त्या यन्निर्दिश्यते समासशास्त्रे तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतात्यस्तप्रातापत्रैः) is a samasa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means: "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्रात, and आपत्र and forms Tat-purusha". Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः. Here the word कष्ट being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शङ्कुनाखण्डः, यूपदारु, वृकभयम्, राजपुरुषः, अक्षशौण्डः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति, च, अपूर्व-निपाते, (उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एका विभक्तिर्यस्य तदिदमेक विभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यन्निघतविभक्तिकं द्वितीये सम्बन्धिनि बहुभिर्विभक्तिभिर्भुज्यमानेप्येकयैवविभक्त्या भुज्यते तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति, अपूर्वनिपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ।

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case, is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)¹ which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex: निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः, निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना. निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ.

Similarly the word निर्वाराणसि ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राजः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीम्; राजः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राजः + कुमार्ये = राजकुमार्ये.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30)¹ cannot stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as कौशाम्बीनिः

अर्थवद्धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत्,
अधातुः, अप्रत्ययः, प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थवच्छब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The prātipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated ore called the dhātu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(¹) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a prâtipadika, as डित्थः 'a wooden elephant,' कपित्थ 'the wood-apple tree,' कण्डम् 'a bowl,' पीठम् 'a seat.:

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning. Thus of the word वने, we cannot say that the portion वन् is prâtipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a prâtipadika, the final न् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7¹ (the final न् of a prâtipadika is dropped),

The word must not be a verb, as the word अहन् (the third person sing. number, imperfect tense of हन्) he killed. Had it been a prâtipadika, the न् would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as कुण्डे 'in the bowl.' Here the word ends in the affix इ of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'prâtipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a prâtipadika, the ए would have been shortened into इ by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipâta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prâtipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahâ-bhâshya. As अद्यागच्छति, प्रलम्बते.

कृतद्धितसमासाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-तद्धित-समासाः , च ,
(प्रातिपदिकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्तद्धिताः समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compound are also called *Prâtipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word prâtipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns, secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93)², the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76).³ Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the kṛit suffix अ; but जनीन *janina*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the *Taddhita* affix ईन *ina*. The name prâtipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janina*, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already, *vis.* Tat-purusha, Karmadhâraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrîhi and Avyayîbhâva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favour of words ending in Kṛit or *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called prâtipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(¹) नक्षत्रैः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

(²) कृतदिङ् ॥

(³) तद्धिताः ॥

The words formed by *kṛit* affixes are *prâtipadika*, as कृ (to do) + ण्वल् = कृ + वु = कार् + अक = कारक. The affix ण्वल् is a *kṛit* affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. 1. 133.¹ The letters ण् and ल् are indicative, the force of ण् being to cause the *vṛidhi* of the vowel of the root. The real affix वु is changed into अक by VII. 1. 1². the affixes यु and वु are replaced by अण and अक respectively. Thus the form कारक is a *prâtipadika*, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ + वृच (III. 1. 133)¹ = कर्तृ; nom. case कर्ता.

The word formed by *Taddhita* affixes are also *prâtipadika*; उषगु + अण् = औषगो + अ = औषगत्र 'the son of the Rishi Upagū': nom. case औषगदः. Similarly कापटवः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not *prâtipadikas*, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of *saṃāsa* or compounds.

The words ending in compound are *prâtipadika*: as राज्ञः + पुरुषः = राज-पुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गस्थे यस्यातिपदिकं वृत्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोलोन्त्यस्याचः ॥

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a *prâtipadika*.

In the neuter gender, the *prâtipadika* that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति + रे = अतिरि 'extravagant', as अतिरि = कुलम् 'an extravagant family'; अति लो = अतिलु 'very hairy', अतिलु कुलं 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as ग्राम + नी = ग्रामणी, nom. case ग्रामणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough.' Similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a *prâtipadika*, the vowel is not shortened. As काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the *prâtipadika* काण्ड) and इ (the dual case termination); thus काण्ड + इ = काण्डे. Now it might be urged that here one letter ए replaces two letters अ and इ. Therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the *prâtipadika* and ought to be shortened. But this is not

to be so, because the word *prātipadika* has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this *ekādés'a* is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

मेखियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-खियोः, उपसर्जनस्य,
(प्रातिपदिकस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य इत्सो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोबहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of *prātipadika* which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as *upasarjana*.

The word *upasarjana* has been defined in *sūtra* 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an *upasarjana*.

Thus चित्र+गो=चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrīhi* or possessive compound. So also शङ्खलु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those *prātipadika upasarjanas* which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः+कौशाश्वी=निष्कौशाश्विः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसिः.

The word *prātipadika* of the previous *sūtra* is understood in this. The word गो in the *sūtra* means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svārīta* accent. The word *upasarjana* qualifies both these words, i. e. when गो is an *upasarjana* and when a word having a feminine termination is an *upasarjana*.

Other examples are :—अति+खट्वा=अतिखट्वः 'without a bedstead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an *upasarjana*, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is *upasarjana*, and not the word कुमारी which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word formed by the addition of an affix, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty', अतिश्रीः ॥

Vart :—In *Bahuvrīhi* compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी, विद्यमानश्रेयसी ।

लुक्त्तद्धितलुकि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, सङ्घितलुक्, (ला,
उपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितलुकि सति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुग्भवति ॥

49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक् defined in sūtra 61, Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्, there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अण्) from other nouns. Before this अण् the initial vowel of the word is vriddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु, 'ocean', forms सिन्धु + अण् = सैन्धो + अ = सैन्धव 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words, e. g. अविष्ठा, फल्गुणी &c., which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34)¹ after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus अविष्ठा + (अण् लुक्) = अविष्ठः ॥ Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being loked; the original feminine termination आ also becomes luk. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्ठः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called डीप् (actually ई) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49) ² take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्). Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक् + डीप् = इन्द्र + आन् + ई = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पंचकपालः an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अण् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापालः ॥ Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus पंचेन्द्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पंच + इन्द्राणी + अण्. (The suffix अण् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix अण् is loked by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88 ³ relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पंच + इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been loked, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also loked. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and डीप् are also dropped, and we have पंचेन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrāṇīs (goddesses),"

(¹) अविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढावहुलालुक् ॥ (²) इन्द्रवरुण-भवर्षवह्वरुडिहमारययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥ (³) द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥

The word लुक् and upasarjana of the last sūtra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फलेलुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree आमलकी will be called आमलकम्, i.e. first the Taddhita affix is *laked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बदरी or बकुली trees are बदरम् or बकुलम्.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *laked*. Thus गार्ग्याः + कुलम् = गार्गीकुलम् 'the family of Gārgī.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgī is *laked* by II. 4. 71¹. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gārgī.

This rule would not also apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्गीत्वम्.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरुः.

ईद् गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्धितलुकि) ॥

इत्ति ॥ गोण्यास्तद्धितलुकि सति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. The short *i* is substituted in the place of *gonî*, when Taddhita affix is elided by *luk*.

By the former sūtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी in which, under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five gonis.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1. 28.² Therefore by previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ.

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ. Thus purchased with five needles पंचभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पंचसूचिः, दशसूचिः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(¹) सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ (²) अध्यर्द्धपूर्वद्विगुर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

लुपि युक्तवद्भ्यक्तिवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि, युक्तवत्,
व्याक्त-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः॥ लुपि लुप्संज्ञया लुप्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते ; तत्र लुपि युक्तवद्भ्यक्ति वचने भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खलतिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words: 1. लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्'; 2. युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same'; 3. व्यक्ति 'gender'; 4. वचनं 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is *lup*ed, then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by *luk* rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup* rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः, meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees', the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पंचालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as will be mentioned by Pāṇini in sūtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पंचालाः are a class of Kshatriyas. As such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās; similarly कुर्वः, मागधाः &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप् (IV. 2. 81, the *lup* takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पंचालाः + अण् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पंचालाः.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus लवणः सूयः 'salted soup', लवणाववायुः 'salted gruel,' लवणे शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix उक् has been elided by the word *luk*, by IV. 4. 24, लवणाल्लुक् (after the word *lavana* the affix is *luket*).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषाः, s'irīṣah, is the name of a village and is formed by the *lup* of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have शिरीषवनम्, 'the forest of the village Sirisha.' Here

the word शिरीषा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called s'irisha, then the न of वन would have become ण optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभाषीषधि वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ The न of the word वन is optionally changed into ण when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c., the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्य फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

Vart:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकवनानि 'mountain forests, i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same viz. neuter.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम्, च.
अजातेः, (लुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबर्थस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तिश्चने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup* elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing *jāti*.)

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचालाः रमणीयाः बहुवन्त्राः, बहुक्षीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः, pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचालाः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchālā does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुवन्त्रः, 'the country of Pañchālās is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुवन्त्रः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः' and indirectly the word Pañchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāṣya is somewhat different from that of the Kāśikā. The phrase चाजातेः is analysed by him as च and आजातेः, the sense being "and as far as the jāti goes." The word jāti is thus explained:—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which begins the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the abovementioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येतृ (s'ākhādhyetṛi) (गौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jātivāchakāḥ) आकृति गृहणज्जातिर्लिंगानां च न सर्वभाक् । सकृदाख्यात निग्राह्यं गोत्रं च चरैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition:—(1) तट is a jāti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i. e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शूद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other s'ūdras (common name), (3) औषगव is such a word, and (4) कठे a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called katha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुक is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Var!—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कर् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा + कर्लुप् (लुप्प्रत्यये V. 3. 98) = चञ्चा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंचा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of man.' वधिकाः दर्शनीयः 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अशिष्यम्, संज्ञा

प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदशिष्यं न वक्तव्यं कस्मात्संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samjñâ (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word हारा: 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly आप: 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also गृहाः वर्षाः सिक्ताः. This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchālās, Kaurava, &c, should not be considered as derivative words formed by the lup elision of Taddhita; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

लुप् योगाप्रख्यानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप, योग- अप्रख्यानात्,
(अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽयं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लुबुध्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्र-
ख्यानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे बृक्षयोगात्रगरे
वरणा इति ॥

54. The sūtras declaring lup elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact that the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varanāḥ is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वरणा at all near the town Varanā. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पञ्चाला, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवञ्च) relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2, 81 and 82 (जनपदेलुप, वरणादिभ्यश्च).

योगप्रमाणे, तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-
प्रमाणे, च. तद्-अभावे, आदर्शनम्, स्यात्,

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चालादयः सज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्तादित्युक्तं. तच्चावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यं योग-
प्रमाणेहि तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद्-
भावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् ॥

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that, there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *lup* elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चालाः &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañchālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas called Pañchālās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchālās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम् अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्यं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रधानं समासे किञ्चित्पदं प्रत्ययस्तव्यशब्दः ताभ्यामर्थवचनमर्थाभिधानमनेन प्रका-
रेण भवतीति पूर्वाभावर्यैः परिभाषितम् प्रधानोपसङ्गने प्रधानार्थसङ्गतेः प्रकृति प्रत्ययौसद्वयं ब्रूत इति ।
सत् पाणिनिनाचार्यः प्रत्याचष्टे अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वादिति । अन्य इति शास्त्रापेक्षया
लोकोग्रहणवित्यते, शब्दैरर्थाभिधानं स्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात् । लोकत एवार्थावगतेः ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pardhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana; and पुरुषः is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that inasmuch as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes, &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगव् he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्जने, च,
तुल्यम्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालोपसर्जने चाशिष्ये कस्मादर्थस्यान्यग्रमाणत्वात् ॥

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kāla) and Upasarjana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past, &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such word as upasarjana, inasmuch as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses; they say: "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayībhava compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥
जाति-आख्याम्, एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वर्तिः ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्नर्थे बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛtti of as'ishyam does not go further.

It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयैः or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायास्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of Kāsyapa may also be called kās'yapa; this is a class noun; but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley': the rule does not apply.

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, (एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदो यो ऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे द्वित्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदि गुरावेकेषाम् ॥

59. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person; similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case; thus आवां ब्रूवः 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि, 'I Devadatta am speaking.' अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि, 'I Gārgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart:—The word गुरु 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word युष्मद; as त्वं मे गुरुः or यूयं मे गुरवः. 'Thou art my master,' or 'you are my master.'

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठ-पदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल्गुन्योर्द्वयोः प्रोष्ठपदश्च द्वयोर्नक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60: And the dual of *Phālgunī* and *Proshthapadâ*, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvritti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunî and proshthapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिने पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshthapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunî and proshthapadâ are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number: as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वसोरेकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वसोः, एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयोर्द्विवचने प्राप्ते पुनर्वसोश्छन्दसि विषये एकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasû, may optionally be singular (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasû* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसु नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in secular literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसु ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसु माणविकौ.

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये विशाखयोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Vis'âkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्य-पुनर्वसोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्वि-वचनम्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रविषयेद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनप्रसङ्गे नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the {words Tishya and Punarvasû (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसुदृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasû having risen are seen (dual).'

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasū. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasū'? Observe विशाखातुसाः 'the-stars Visākha and Anurādhā.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasūs.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasū. As तिष्यपुनर्वसुः, पुण्यपुनर्वसुः, सिद्धपुनर्वसुः ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasū."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva take the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इदमिति.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñapaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-
शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

वृत्ति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषो भवति ॥

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ēkas'ēsha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षौ (trees, in dual)
वृक्षः + वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षाः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of

the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sūtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as वृक्ष न्यग्रोधः the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekas'esha will apply, as अक्षः (die) + अक्ष (eye) + अक्ष (axle) = अक्षाः. Similarly पादाः and भाषाः.

The present rule only applies to the retention of *one*, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a *substitution* (ades'a) of one for many, but the *retention* of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पयः (1. s.) पयो (2. s.) जरयति ब्राह्मणान् (3. d.) च कृतं ब्राह्मणान् (4. d.) च देहि.

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, यूना, तत्-लक्षणः, चेद् एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयूनासहवचनेऽप्युच्यते युवानिवर्त्तते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥

65. The vṛiddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekas'esha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word s'esha of the previous sūtra is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words, gotra and yuvan, are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रवृत्ति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंशे युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105) ¹ the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix क्क् denoting a secondary derivative.* In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः = वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekas'ēsha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

This rule of ekas'ēsha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ । Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus rule IV. i. 148² says a "Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix टक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira." Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्त्किः = भागवित्तिभागवित्त्कौ. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix टक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also, the pure yuvan word being भागवित्त्तायनः.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important: it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family, the patriarch, was known. For example, Garga or Gargāchārya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great grandsons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgāyanas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas."

(¹) गार्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ (²) यमिमोक्ष ॥ (³) वृद्धाद्वट्कसौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥

स्त्री पुंवच्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंवत्, च (शेषवृद्धयूना तल्ल० वि०)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवचने शिष्यते तल्लक्षणभेदेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a *vṛiddha* affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a *yuvan* affix, is only retained : and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting *gotra* and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a *yuvan*, the first is retained and the last is dropped ; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous *sūtra* and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that *sūtra*. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्याद्य = गार्गी. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former *sūtra*, namely the masculine.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षाद्यः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि).

Vart.—The word *stri* in the *sūtra* means *Vṛiddhā stri*, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanas' chedeva vis'eshah' of the previous *sūtra* govern this *sūtra* also, *i. e.* the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया (शेषः, तल्लक्षणभेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवचने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्त्तते स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणभेदेवविशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes *ekas'esha*, and the latter is dropped.¹

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words '*vṛiddha*' and '*yuvan*,' of *sūtra* 65, does not extend to this *sūtra*, but the remaining portion of *sūtra* 65 is to be read into this *sūtra*. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as ब्राह्मणः + ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणौ 'the *Brahmaṇa* and the *Brahmaṇī*'; कुक्कुटः + कुक्कुटी = कुक्कुटौ. 'the cock and hen.'

But not so in the following :— कुक्कुटः + मयूरी = कुक्कुटमयूरी 'the cock and the peahen.' Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्यौ. Hete the 'eminine affix डीष्, by which the word gaṇakī is formed from gaṇaka, in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. r. 48, पुंयोगादाख्ययाम्, meaning the "wife of" a gaṇaka and not a feminine gaṇakā; so also इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्नेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी = आर्यार्याण्यौ. Because the feminine affix in *aryani* conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. r. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक् + प्राची = प्राक्प्राच्यौ. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्रौ, स्वसृ-
दुहितृभ्याम्, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथासंख्यं भ्रातृपुत्रशब्दौशिष्येते सहवचने स्वसृदुहितृ-भ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrātri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasri, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different there may be an ekas'esha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरो (brother and sister or brothers). Similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñavalkya smṛiti पत्नीं दुहितरश्चैव पितरो भ्रातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrātarah.

Here the word bhrātarah, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrātri, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sūtra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैवञ्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥
नपुंसकम्, अनपुंसकेन, एकवत्, च अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शेषः,
तल्लक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकानपुंसकनामकृतेविशेषेऽनपुंसकेन सहवचने नपुंसकाशिष्यते; एकवत्त्वात्-
कं र्थं भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

39. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken or along with them, provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो मेयुनं निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्जते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidra' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekas'esna may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि; the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhava.

The words तल्लक्षणभेदेन विशेषः of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शुक्लश्च कम्बलः, शुक्ला च वृत्तिका, शुक्लं च वस्त्र. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neut.).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पितृशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

70. The word pitri, 'father', is optionally only retained when spoken of along with matri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + मात्रा = पितरो 'father and mother, or parents' or मातापितरौ. The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

भ्रशुरः भ्रशवा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रशुरः, भ्रशवा, (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रशवासह वचने भ्रशुरशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word s'vas'ura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with s'vas'rū, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वभू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्वशुरौ ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वानन्त्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, सर्वैः नित्यम् (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहवचने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यदाभिरन्यैश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां नियोक्तव्यत्परंतत्तच्छिष्यते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as *ekas'esha*, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim'; when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the anhorism to indicate 'universality'; i. e. *what ever* may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart.—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1, 27). So यद् will be retained and not तद्. Similarly किम् is read after बद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of बद्.

ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम्य-पशु-संघेषु, अतरुषु, स्त्री, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः ; एतेषु सह विदवायां स्त्री शिष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशफेष्टितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders,

the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'pas'u' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls);' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya) animals and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (pas'u) and not men. As हरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female); पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female); ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas (male and female); क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अशवा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also

Why do we say "not being young"? बस्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained by the application of Rule 67.

श्रीश्च

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भूवादयो धातवः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूव-आदयः , धातवः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा क्रियावचना धातु संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhātu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhātu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows :—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Krî. 10. Chur.

There are about two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhātu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pāṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also, therefore, the word dhātu means a word which expresses action.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness ; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूआदि ; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that वा is a separate root : he translates the sūtra thus :—" Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' vâ 'blow' and the like be called dhātu."

उपदेशोऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे , अच् , अनु-
नासिकः , इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेति उपदेशः , शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च तत्र योऽजनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवति ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upades'a, or original enunciation.

Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicative, when occurring in technical words. Thus in कित्, विद्, विष् the anunāsika इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upades'a' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upades'a' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha. or gaṇapāṭha, or dhatu pāṭha, &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicative letters called इत्. "In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upades'a is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (āgama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध 'to increase,' the final अ is indicative, the real root is एध. So also the final अ of स्पृज् is इत् ॥

If the word is not an upades'a, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अश्च औं अपः ॥ A word may be an upades'a, and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74. (आतो मनिन् कनिच् वनिपदच्) It is only the nasal vowel of an upades'a that becomes इत् and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras V. 2. 16. (आहितश्च &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्वादिः सप्तस्यस्य यदन्त्यं हल् तद्विस्सं भवति ॥

3. In upades'a, the final consonant of roots, &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes. &c., are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ण् ; here ण् is इत् ॥ क ल क् ; here क् is इत् ॥ ए ओङ् ; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच् ; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upades'a, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-माः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वैर्ण प्राप्तयाविस्संज्ञायां विभक्तौ वर्त्तमानानां तवर्गं सकारं मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and ण् are not इत् in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्, स्, and श्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not, an इत्; and is not rejected, as in ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word तु in the sūtra means the letters of the class त् by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakli will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (दादसिङ्सामिनास्व्याः) the vibhaktis इत्, आत् and स्व replace दा, दसि and ङस्. Here the final त् of the affix आत् is not indicative and hence not rejected, as वृक्षात्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and थस् as पचतः, पचथः ॥ So also the final न् as तांश्च and तस् in अपचताम् and अपचतस् ॥

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्); युस् (V. 2. 123; ऊर्णाया युस्) and श्म (III. 1. 78 रुधादिभ्यश्मः) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti अत् (in V. 3. 12 किमोऽत् or III. 4. 106, इतोऽत्). In those two sūtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i. e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (इत्तस्यधुः) we find, 'the word इत्स् takes the vibhakti धु in the sense of mode or manner.' As इत्+धु=इत्थस्, 'in this manner.' Now धु is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्देशो विभक्तिः), the उ is इत्, the real vibhakti is थस्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this उ as indicative letter, which has been evidently added to save the स् of थस् from becoming an इत्. This sūtra is consequently an antiya sūtra.

आदिभिर्दुडवः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, जि-दु-डवः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जि दु ड इत्ये तेषां सगुहायानामादितो वर्त्तमानानामित्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial ñi, tū, and dū are इत् ॥

The syllables जि, दु and डु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicative; as जिमिदा 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is मिद्, the जि is servile. So दुनदि 'to rejoice; be glad' the real root being नद्. So डुदाद् 'to give' the real root being दा.

The जि shows that the past participle क्त has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (जीतः क्तः). As जिकला—कुल्लः 'blown'; जिमिदा—भिन्नः 'fat'; जिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'; जिद्विषा—द्विषन्नः 'soft'; जिहन्धी—इहः 'kindled.'

The दु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix श्यु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 द्वितोऽयुच्); as दुषेष्टः—वेपथुः 'shaking'; दु ओद्वि—द्वयथुः 'swelling.'

The डु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the amx विभ (III. 3. 88, द्वितः क्तः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as **दुकृम्—कृषिमम्** 'artificial' **दुपचष—पक्विमम्** 'ripe'; **दुवष्—उप्विमम्** 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicative; as **पट्टयति**, **कण्डूयति**, &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य (आदि इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारः प्रत्ययस्यादिरित्संज्ञो भवति ॥

6. The initial ष of an affix is indicative.

The initial ष of an affix gets the name of **इत्** and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (**शिल्पिनि ष्वन्**) the affix **ष्वन्** is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The **ष** and **न्** are **इत्** and **अक्** takes the place of **वु** (VII. 1. 1, **सुवोरनाकौ**). Thus **नृत् + ष्वन् = नर्त्त + अक् = नर्त्तकः** 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. **नर्त्तकी** (IV. 1. 41, **षिद्धौरादिभ्यश्च** 'words formed by affixes having an indicative ष take the affix **ङीष्** in the feminine'): so also **रञ्जका**, fem. **रञ्जकी**.

The initial ष of an affix only is **इत्** and not every initial ष. Thus not in **षोडः** 'six,' or **षडिकः** ॥ The **ष** must be initial, therefore it is not **इत्** in the affix **दिषच्** in **अविमह्योदिषच्**, (Uṇ I. 45) as **अविषः** 'an ocean', **महिषः** 'a buffalo.'

बुद्ध ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुद्ध (प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गं टवर्गौ प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicative.

The consonants **च्, छ, ज्ञ, झ, ञ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ**, and **ण**, are always **इत्** and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix **चफञ्** **chapañ** in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 **गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चफञ्**). Here **च्** is indicative, as, **कौञ्जयन्त्यः** ॥ The initial **छ** **chh** of an affix is always replaced by **ईय** (VII. 1. 2 **आयनयीनीचियः फट् खच्छयां प्रत्ययादीनाम्**). The initial **ज्ञ** of an affix is **इत्**. As, **अज्ञ** (Nom. Pl. term) **ब्राह्मणाः** ॥ The initial **झ** of an affix is always replaced by **अन्त**, as **भू + षाङ् + झि = भवन्ति** ॥ (VII. 1. 3 **होऽन्तः**). The initial **ञ** of an affix is **इत्** as in **उञ्च** which comes after the words **शण्डिक** &c. As **शाण्डिक्यः** (IV. 3. 92 **शण्डिकादिभ्योऽञ्च**). The indicative **ञ** causes vṛddhi by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117 : (**अचोऽगणिति, अतउपधायाः, सङ्घितेभ्यचामादिः**).

The initial **ट** of an affix is **इत्** as in III. 2. 16 (**चरोहः** the root **चर्** takes the affix **ट** when compounded with a noun in the locative). As **कुरुचरः** 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminines of words formed by this affix take **ङीष्** (IV. 1. 15 **दिङ्गणम्भयसञ्** &c.) As **कुरुचरी**, **महचरी**. The initial **ठ** of an affix is always replaced by **इक्** (VII. 3. 50 **ठस्विकः**). The initial **ड** of an affix is **इत्**, as in III. 2. 97 (**सप्तम्यां जनेडः** the root **जन्** takes the affix **ड** when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The इ indicates that the final of the word called हि should be elided when an affix having indicative ङ is added. The initial इ of an affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2.)

The letter ए is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अन्नास्मः) the affix ए comes after the word अन्न 'food.' As अन्न + ए = आन्नः. The ण causes Vṛiddhi.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicative. Thus in the affixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् the initial च् is not indicative but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याचुञ्चुः विद्याचणः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26. तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप् चणपौ. Similarly the initial ट् of the affix दीदच् (V. 2. 31 अवात्कुदारच्च, नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां दीदच् नादञ्भ्रदचः), is not इत्. As अन्वदीदच् 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicative. As ट् of the affix अटच् is not indicative in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मणि षटोऽटच्) कर्मठः 'dexterous.'

लशक्तद्धिते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श-कु, अतद्धिते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितवर्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्यादितो वर्त्तमाना लकार शकार कवर्णा इत्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and s', and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicative.

The initial ल, श, क, ख, ए, ए, इ, of affixes are indicative, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल in ल्युद् is इत् (III. 3 115 ल्युदच्) । वि+ल्युद् = चयनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'collecting.' The initial श in शप् is इत् (III. 1. 68. कर्तरि शप्) भू + शप् + तिप् = भो + अ + ति = भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in क्त and क्तवतु (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 प्रियवशे वदः खच् the word वद takes the affix khach when compounded with प्रिय and वश्) प्रियवक्: 'speaking kindly', वशंवक्: 'submissive.' The initial ए is इत् as in the affix ग्लु (III 2. 139 ग्लान्तिस्थश्च ग्लु), ग्लान्तुः 'languid', जिष्णुः 'victorious', स्थान्तुः 'unmoveable.' The initial ञ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासभिदो घुरच्) भञ्ज + घुरच् = भङ्गुरम् 'brittle.' The initial ह् is इत्, as in हसि (termination of the ablative sing.) हस् ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as सुमनस् + हस् = सुमनस् + अस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials ल, श and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा + लच् = चूडालः (V. 2. 96. प्राणिस्यादातो लज्यतरस्याम्) 'crested'; लोम + श

=लोमशः (V. 2. 100 लोमादिषामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलच्) 'hairy'; वृक्ष + कन् = वृक्षकः
V. 3 81-86 जातिनामः कन्) 'a small tree.'

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, लोपः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यैतत्तकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of इत्; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sūtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see. I. 1. 52). Therefore, the whole of त्रि, दु and डु is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सङ्ख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा—सङ्ख्यम्, अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानां समपरिपठितानामुद्देशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रममुद्देशिभिरनुदेशिनः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1. 134 (नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यच्) declares—'the affixes ल्यु, णिनि and अच् are applied to नन्दि, ग्रहि and पच् class of words.' It means the affix ल्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of ग्रहि class, and अच् to words of पच् class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1. 77 इको यणचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, उ, ऋ, ए there is यण् i. e., ण्, र्, ल्, इ ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड् डक् छण् डम् यकः) where the four affixes ḍhak, chhaṇ dhañ, and yak are applied respectively to the words tūdi, s'alātura, varmatī and kūchavāra; i. e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word, &c. As तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कौचवार्च्यः ॥

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which 'these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90, लक्षणेभ्यभूताख्यायनभागवीप्तास्तु प्रति पर्यनवः for here the words lakṣhaṇa, &c., in the first part of

the sūtra are four in number, while the words *prati* &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karma pravachanīya, whenever they indicate either lakṣhaṇa (a mark), itthambhūta khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance) ; bhāga (division) ; or vipsā (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्मः तेन चिह्नेनाधिकारो वेदितव्यः ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an *adhikāra* or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातोः (III. 1. 91), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1), अस्य (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्-ङ-इतः आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेतो ये धातवो ङितश्च तेभ्य एव आत्मने पदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicative *anudatta* vowel (*anudāttet*) or an indicative *ñ* (*ñit*), the affixes are those of the *Atmanepada*.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आस the final अ is *anudatta* and is इत्. It is therefore an *âtmanepadi* verb. As अस्ति. So षूङ्—सूते, षीङ् शेते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्मणि आत्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An *atmanepada* affix is the substitute of the affix ल (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter ल (ल्, लिङ् &c.) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i.e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The *Paras*. and *Atman*. affixes would

have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Ātman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the ātmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have ग्लायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you'), सुष्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made'; ह्रियते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices, *vis*, active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकतरि are also ātmanepadi. Thus लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदान् ॥ कर्त्तार, कर्म-व्यतिहारे ॥ (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे तद्विशिष्ट क्रिया वचनाद्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Ātmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्तृवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are ātmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुनते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसार्थेभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थेभ्यः ॥ (आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो हिंसार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिषेधो हंसादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हतौ प्रतिषेधः ॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action, the Ātmanepada affixes are not used.

This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sūtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिंसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिज्वन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजन्वन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हरति 'to injure,' as संमहरन्ते राजानः ॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर, अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, (कर्मव्य० आत्मने० न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्धातोः कर्मव्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परस्परपपदाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नेर्विशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परस्माद् विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb vis' 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अद् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the atmanepada. As न्यविशत् 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sūtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhāṣā:—अर्थवद्ग्रहणेनानर्थक्यस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in मधुनि विशन्ति भ्रमराः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the नि is a part of the word मधुनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः,
(आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिव्यवेभ्य उत्तरान् क्रीणातेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb krī 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb डुक्रीञ् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory ञ् and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्री 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As प्रीक्रीणीति 'he buys'; विक्रीणीति 'he sells'; अवक्रीणीति 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there 'is not a preposition but a noun, as, बहुविक्रीणीति वनम्.

विपराभ्यां जेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जेः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वाज्जयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb ji 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parâ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers,' पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and parâ must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives बहुविजयति वनम्, पराजयति सेना ॥

आङो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङः, दः, अना-
स्य-विहरणे, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वादातेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यविहरणसमानक्रितादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb *dâ* 'to give,' preceded by *ân*, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root *ह* is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition *आ*, it is restricted to the Atmanepada. As *विद्यामादत्ते* 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As *आस्यं व्याददाति*. 'He expands his own mouth.'

Vart :—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As *विपादिकां व्याददाति* 'he opens the tumour.' *कूटं व्याददाति नदी* 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart :—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is Atmanepadi, as *व्याददतेपिपीलिकाः पतंगस्य मुखम्*, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः, अनु-सम्-परिभ्यः,
च, (आङ्, आत्मने प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीड् विहरि एतस्माद् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् आङ् पृथ्वात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकूजने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आगनेः क्षमायामात्मने पदं वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षेजिज्ञासायाम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिषिनाथः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ हरेर्गतताच्छील्ये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतेर्हर्ष जीविका कुलाय करणविवति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्गितुप्रच्छोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालम्भन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb *krîd*, 'to play' preceded by *anu*, *sam* or *pari*, as well as *ân*, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "आङ्" is to be read into the sūtra by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As *आक्रीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते*, or *परिक्रीडते* 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb *क्रीड्* compounded with *सम्* means to make a rattling or creaking noise, it does not take Atmanepada terminations. As *संक्रीडन्ति शकृदानि* 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word *anu*, *pari* &c., being taught along with *sam*, indicates that the upasargas *anu*, *pari*, &c., are to be taken and not the karmapravachanīya *anu pari*, &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachanīya, they do not cause the verb *क्रीड्* to

take the *âtmanepada* terminations as माणवकमनुकीडति 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of *karmapravachanîya*, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb आगम् takes the *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to overlook', 'to have patience', as, आगमयस्व सावन् माणवकम् । 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart. The verb शिञ्च takes *âtmanepada* terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्यासु शिञ्चते 'he investigates sciences.'

Vart.—The verb नाथ् when meaning 'to bless,' takes *âtmanepada* terminations, as, सर्पिषो नाथते 'he blesses with clarified butter,' मधुनो नाथते । Why do we say 'when meaning to bless'? Observe, माणवकमनुनाथति, 'he begs of Manavakâ.'

Vart.—The verb हरति takes *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पैतृकमश्वा अनुहरते 'the horses resemble their father.' मातृकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मातुरनुहरति 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.—The verb किरति takes *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्षार्थी 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरते श्वाऽऽश्वार्थी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपकिरति कुसुमम् 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in *apaskirate* is added by *sûtra* VI. 1. 142. अपाचतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥

Vart.—The verbs नु 'to cry' and प्रच्छ 'to ask' take the *âtmanepada* terminations when preceded by the preposition आङ्, as आनुते शृगालः 'the jackal howls,' आपृच्छते गुरुम् 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb शप् when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes *âtmanepada* affixes. As देवदत्ताय शपते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शपति 'he curses.'

समवप्रविभ्य स्यः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः, स्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वान् तिष्ठते रात्मनेपदं भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङः स्यः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb *sthâ* 'to stand,' preceded by *sam*, *ava*, *pra*, *vi*, the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

As संतिष्ठते 'he stays with,' अवतिष्ठते 'he waits patiently,' प्रतिष्ठते 'he sets forth,' वितिष्ठते 'he stands apart.'

Vart.—The verb स्था when preceded by आङ् and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes âtmanepada terminations; as अस्ति संस्कारमात्रमातिष्ठते ॥ Or to take another example, जलं विशं वा तव कारणादास्थास्ये 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आख्ययोः, च,
(स्था, आत्मने०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्थेयाख्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb sthâ when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or, 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakâś'ana means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyâkhyâ is a compound of stheyâ 'arbitrator; and âkhyâ 'name.'

As तिष्ठते जायापत्ये 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband;' त्वयि-
तिष्ठते 'he refers to thee for settlement;' संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः, 'who, when
he is in doubt, has recourse to Karna as his judge or umpire.'

उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, अनूर्ध्व-कर्मणि,
(स्था, आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रनूर्ध्वकर्मणि वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उद ईहायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. After the verb sthâ, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गेहे उत्तिष्ठते 'he strives for the house' so also कुटुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते ॥ But
आसनादुत्तिष्ठति 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition ut must be to express ईहा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the Parasmaipada. As अस्माद् ग्रामात् शतमुत्तिष्ठति 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word ईहा qualifies the word 'anûrdhakarmaṇi,' and does not debar the latter.

उपान्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, मन्त्र-करणे, (स्था,
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात्तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणेऽर्थवर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपादिवपूजासंगति करणमित्री करणव्यतिथिविति वाच्यम्
वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्सायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

25. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when meaning 'to adore,' the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

As ऐन्द्रागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Garhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the *Parasmaipada*, as भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb *स्था* after the preposition *उप* takes the terminations of the *âtmanepada* when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva puja आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he worships the Aditya,' 2. Sangati karaṇa पतिमुपतिष्ठते नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' रथिकाउपतिष्ठते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitri karaṇa सन्तमुपतिष्ठते साधुः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karaṇa? Sangati-karaṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गङ्गायमुनामुपतिष्ठते 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—अयं पन्थाः सुधनुमुपतिष्ठते 'this road leads to Sruḡha.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the *Atmanepada* is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते or उपतिष्ठति 'a beggar waits at the place of a Brahmana with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (उपस्था आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकादकर्मकाक्रियावचनादान्मनेपदं भवति ॥

26. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when used intransitively, the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' यावद्भुक्तमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यावदोदनमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word *bhukta* is formed by adding the affix *kta* to the root, and has the force of condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding sūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb *upasthâ* takes the *parasmaipada* terminations. As राजानमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches the king.'

उद्विभ्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्-विभ्याम्, तपः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् विडित्येवं पूर्वात् तपतेरकर्मकाक्रियावचनादान्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाच्चेति वा। इत्यम् ॥

27. After the verb *tapa* 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by *ut* or *vi*, the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

As उत्तपते or वितपते विद्यायाः (वद्यार्थी) 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is *Parasmaipadi*. As उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' वितपति पृष्ठं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the *atmanepada*, though the verb *ut-tapa* or *vi-tapa* be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्तपते पाणिम् or वितपते पाणिम् or पृष्ठं 'he heats his own hand or back.' The word स्वाङ्ग means one's own body and not the *paribhāshika* or the technical स्वाङ्ग meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54. स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य पृष्ठमुत्तपति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta.' When the preposition is other than *ut* or *vi*, *parasmaipada* affix is employed; as, निदपति.

आङोयमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागत्याः । ताभ्यामकर्मकक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाह् पूर्वाभ्यामन्ते-पदे भवति ॥

28. After the verb *yam* 'to stop,' and *han* 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by *ân*, the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally *parasmaipadi*. When they take the affix आ they become *atmanepadi*. *Yam* belongs to *Bhvädi* class; and *han* to *Adädi* class. Thus आ + यम् + षत् + ते = आ + यच्छ + अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicative ष् follows) = आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छते and आयच्छन्ते; so also आ + हन् + ते = आ + ह + ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्याशीनामनुनासिकलोपो झालिङ्ङिति = आहते, 'he strikes.' आ + हन् + आते = आ + हन् + आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 सार्वधातुकमपित् यमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङि स्यन्ङि) = आघ्नते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेऽभिज्ञेयु) Pl. आघ्नन्ते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कूपार-जलम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'

Var.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आशच्छत पाणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' आहते शिरं 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as आहन्ति शिरः परश्रीवं 'they hurt others' head.'

समोगमृच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरत्यतिश्रुविदिभ्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः ।
गमि-ऋच्छि-प्रच्छि-स्वरति-अर्त्ति-श्रु-विदिभ्यः (अकर्म० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि ऋच्छि प्रच्छि स्वरति अर्त्तिश्रुविदिह्रस्वेतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशेमेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs gam 'to go,' richchh 'to become hard,' prachchh 'to ask,' svar 'to find fault,' ri 'to go,' s'rû 'to hear,' and vid 'to know,' when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' सपृच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes.' संपृच्छते 'he asks,' संस्वरते 'he blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvâdi and Juhvâdi classes it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम् + कृ + अङ् + त (III. 1. 56 सर्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च) = सपृत, as ना सपृते (VI. 4. 75 बहुलं न्वस्यमाङ्गयोगेऽपि) सम् + कृ + अङ् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 ऋहृशौऽङिभ्युः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संशृणुते 'he hears,' संविन्दे 'he knows.'

Var.—The root दृश् (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपश्यते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as ग्रामम् संपश्यति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो हः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः, हः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि सम् उप वि ह्रस्वेवं पूर्वोद् ह्रस्वेत्तोरित्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपसर्गादित्यहोर्वा वचनम् ॥

30. After the verbs hve 'to call,' preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb ह्वे 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadi after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निह्वयते, संह्वयते, उपह्वयते ॥

The verb ह्वे is marked in the Dhātupāṭha with a अ् and therefore, by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb ह्वे takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Var.—The verbs अस् 'to throw' and ऊह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्यति—ते 'he casts out,' समूहति—ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायामाङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायाम्, आङः, (ह्वः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये आङ् पूर्वाद् ह्वयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb ह्वे, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अह्, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लमाह्वयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)'; छात्रश्छात्रमाह्वयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root ह्वे takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhā means to emulate, to vie, to desire, to conquer another. When the verb ह्वे has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाह्वयति गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृजः ॥ ३२ ॥

पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहसिक्य-प्रतियत्न-प्रकथन-उपयोगेषु, कृजः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिव्यर्थेषु वर्त्तमानान् करोतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

32. After the verb कृि when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb कृञ् by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gāndh 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile,' 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sāhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means, 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus: उडकुर्वते. उडकुर्वते means he informs against; (2) श्येनो वर्तिकाशुदाकुर्वते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail,' (3) गणिकानुपकुर्वते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामात्रानुपकुर्वते 'he serves the mahamatra,' (4) परदारान् प्रकुर्वते 'he outrages another's wife,' (5) एधोदकव्योपकुर्वते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).' The object of the verb कृि takes the affix of the sixth case i. e. genitive, only when the verb means 'pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञः प्रतियत्ने) । Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सुद् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna, see VI. 1. 139. (उपात् प्रतियत्नं वैकृत वाक्याध्याहारेषु) ॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5) गाथाः प्रकुर्वते 'he recites stories,' जनापवासान् प्रकुर्वते 'he recites slander,' (6) शतं प्रकुर्वते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुर्वते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why, do we say in these senses? Witness कर्तं करोति 'he makes a mat. In this case the atmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb कृि is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अधेः प्रसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, प्रसहने, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि पूर्वार्त् करोतेः प्रसहने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb कृि preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that कृि may take the atmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to overcome, to be not defeated.' As तमधिचक्रे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness अर्थमधिकरोति 'he rears the meaning' in which example the atmanepada affix is not employed.

The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last aphorism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वेः शब्दकर्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, शब्द कर्मणः, (कृजः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मिप्राये क्रियाफले शब्दकर्मण आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

34. After the verb kri preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when *ṣuṣas ṣuṣ* is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sūtra indicates objective case or kāraka; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As क्रोष्टा विकुरुते स्वरान् 'the birds are making noise,' ध्वांश्च विकुरुते स्वरान् ॥

The word वि governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness चित्तं विकरोति कामः 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (कृजः आ० प० वेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मकाश्चकर्मिक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

35. After the verb kri preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकुर्वन्ते सैन्धवा 'the horses move gracefully,' ओदनस्य पूर्णादलाचा विकुर्वन्ते the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

संमाननोत्सञ्जनाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ संमानन-उत्सञ्जन-आचार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु, नियः,
(आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णीम्. प्रापणे इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्कर्मिप्रायेक्रियाफलेरात्मनेपदं भवति, सम्माननादिषु विशेषणेषु सख्यु ॥

36. After the verb nî 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'

'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, *vis*, when it means 'to respect' &c.

Sammanana means to respect; as नयत चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvi gives instruction in the Lokâyata s'astra.' The word chârvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondry use it has been extended to the preceptor also; such a preceptor gives instruction, in Lokâyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmānitā) and honored.

Utsañjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकमुपनयते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Āchārya-karaṇa 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an āchārya. As माणवकमुपनयते 'he initiates Manavaka (*i. e.*, making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)

Jñāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नयत चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvi investigates the truth of the Lokâyata doctrine.'

Bhṛiti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारानुपनयते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigaṇaṇa means the paying off as a tribute; debts &c. As मद्रा करं विनयन्ते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As शतं विनयते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्रं विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अजां नयाति मामम् 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मस्थे ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्मस्थे, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नयतेः कर्तृविशेषात्तत्कारवाच्यः कर्तृस्थे कर्मण्यशरीरे सति नयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

37. After the verb नी, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object. the Atmanepada is used.

The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As क्रोधं विनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मरुं विनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word s'arīra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called s'arīra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartrīstha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Devadatta removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गडुं विनयति 'he removes his own wort,' घाटं विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्ध्या विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रज्ञया विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु, क्रमः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु क्रमेणतिरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sūtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sūtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛitti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (i. e., a taste for, or facility in, anything), sarga 'energy' means application, resolution and determination. Tāyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (1) ऋक्षस्य क्रमते बुद्धिः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i. e., he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (2). व्याकरणाध्ययनाय क्रमते 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (3). अस्मिन् शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अपक्रामति he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गतायनेशुक्रमः
आः प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमतेवृत्त्यादिव्यर्थेषु वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛitti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last ? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is ātmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c. Thus उपक्रमते 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and para'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parasmaipada; as संक्रमति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमति, पराक्रमति.

आङ्उद्गमने ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, उद्गमन (क्रमः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वात् क्रमते रुद्गमने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by ān, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमाः 'the moon rises,' आक्रमन्ते ज्योतीषि 'the stars rise.'

Vari.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रमति धूमोहर्म्यतलात्, 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb kram is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness आक्रमति माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.'

वेः पादविहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, पाद-विहरणे, (क्रमः आ० प० , ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमतेः पादविहरणेष्वर्थे वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.

Though in the Dhātupāṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb कृमि and कृद् have the meanings of pāda-viharaṇa and pāda-vikshepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupāṭha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रामति अजिनसन्धिः 'the fold of the antelope skin is ruptured.'

प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम्, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परस्मात् क्रमतेराल्लनेपदं भवति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोक्तुम्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुम् 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms" Witness the following पूर्वेषुः प्रक्रमति अरेषुः उपक्रमति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakramati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं विद्युक्ताद् क्रमतेराल्लनेपदं भवति ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsā viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples: क्रमते or क्रामति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपह्वे ज्ञः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि अपह्वेः, ज्ञः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपह्वे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb jñā, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jñā which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपजानीते 'he deceives,' शतमपजानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपजानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning "to deny?" Observe:— न त्वं किञ्चिदपि ज्ञानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकाश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (ज्ञः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jñā, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिषो जानीते मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jñā is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi

How in the above example the verb jñā is intransitive? Because the word सर्पिषः is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñāna); and it (sarpishah) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे) by which the instrumental karaka of the jñā is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संप्रतिभ्यामनाव्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-प्रतिभ्याम् अन्-आध्याने, (ज्ञः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिहृत्यैवं पूर्वाज्ज्ञानातेरनाव्याने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb jñā, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word *jña* is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that *jña* which is used in the transitive. As *यत् सञ्जानीते* 'he looks for a hundred,' So *सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते* 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus *मातुः संजानाति* 'he remembers with regret his mother,' *पितुः संजानाति* ॥

भासनोपसंभाषाज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भासन-उपसंभाषा-ज्ञान-यत्न-विमति-उपमन्त्रणेषु, वदः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

47. After the verb *vad*, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sūtra 78, *vad* generally takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. By the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāšana, (shining) means to illumine as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते*. The *chārvi* illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhashā-(persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate, as *कर्नकरानुपवदते* 'he conciliates or cajoles the servants.'

Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely, as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते* 'the *chārvi* knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.'

Yatna (endeavour) means energy, as *क्षेत्रे वदते* 'He toils in the field,' *गृहे वदते* 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimitas of opinion. As *क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते*, 'they disagree over the field,' i. e., holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret, as, *कुलभार्यानुपवदते* 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (i. e., seduces her in secret),' *परदारानुपवदते* 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See *यत् किञ्चिद्वदति* 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचाम्, सम्-उच्चारणे, (वदः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणं सङ्क्षेपारणं तत्रैव ज्ञानाद्भवत्तरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

48. After the verb *vad*, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking.' But in संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchāraṇa for the application of this rule; when there is no samuchchāraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मणो वदति 'the Brāhmaṇa speaks.'

अनोरकमेकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अकमेकात्, (वदः, आ० प०) व्यक्तवाचां ॥

नञिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाद्दत्तेरकर्मकाद्व्यक्तवाग्विषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As अनुवदते कठः कथापस्य katha is echoing or imitates kalāpa. He reutters exactly what the kalāpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say 'in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As पूर्वमेव यजुस्मृदितमनुवदति, 'he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.'

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवदति वीणा 'the lute resounds,' here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषा विप्रलापे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विप्रलापे, (वदः आ० प० व्यक्तवाचां) ॥

नञिः ॥ विप्रलापाल्लोके व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे वर्त्तमानाद्दत्तेरात्मनेपदं भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As विप्रवदन्ते or न्ति वैद्याः (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavācām (articulate utterance) and samuchchāraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as, संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking together.'

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as विप्रवदन्ति शकुनयः 'the kites are quarrelling,' the verb is in the Parasmaipada.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time, otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्रमेण वैद्या वैद्येन सह विप्रवदन्ति, 'the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.'

अवाद्ग्रः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवाद् , ग्रः , (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाद् गिरतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

51. After the verb grî 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरति (he swallows). The root grî to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb grî taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tudādi class. It is not the grî 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryādi class, because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb grî 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi; the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति 'he swallows.'

समः प्रतिज्ञाने ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , प्रतिज्ञाने , (ग्रः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सपूर्वाद् गिरतेः प्रतिज्ञाने वर्त्तमानाशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

52. After the verb grî preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शनं संगिरते, 'he promises to pay a hundred rupees.' If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As संगिरति मासम्, 'he swallows the mouthful.'

उद्दश्चरः सदर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्दः , चरः , सकर्मकात् ॥ (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वात्चरतेः सकर्मकक्रियावचनाशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively, the Atmanepada is employed.

As गेहमुच्चरते 'he strays away from home;' शुद्भवचनमुच्चरते 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.'

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाष्पमुच्चरति 'the vapour is rising.' Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तृतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , तृतीया- युक्तात् , (चरः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्चरतेस्तृतीयायुक्ताशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

54. After the verb *char*, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As *अश्वेन संचरते* 'he rides on the horse-back.'

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As *उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चायं च देवल !* 'O Devala ! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that.' Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the *parasmaipada* terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः, च, सा, चेत,
चतुर्थी-अर्थे, (समस्त० यु० चरः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ दाणदाने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वाद् तृतीयायन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति साचेत् तृतीया
चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. And after the verb *dâ* to give, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case ? That is answered by the following.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As *दास्या* or *दुष्यत्या* संप्रयच्छते 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute.'

The verb *dâ* to give is generally *parasmaipadi*, it becomes *âtmanepadi* under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, *parasmaipada* terminations will be used, as *पाणिना संप्रयच्छति*, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the *âtmanepada* terminations are employed when the preposition *sam* is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition *pra*, intervenes between *sam* and the verb. The reply is that the word *samah* in *sûtra* 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, यमः, स्वकरणे,
(आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्यमः स्वकरणे वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

56. After the verb *yam*, to give, preceded by *upa*, when used in the sense of "espousing," the *Atmanepada* is employed.

This is clear. As भार्यायुपयच्छते 'he espouses or knows his wife.' But not so when another's wife is meant; there it is *parasmaipadi*.

By rule 78, the verb *yam* would have been *parasmaipadi*, but the present *sūtra* makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition *upa* and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of *sva-karana* is confined to accepting in general. This is according to *Kāśika*; according to *Mahābhāṣya*, *sva-karana* means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense, *prasmaipada* affixes will be employed, as देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य भार्यायुपयच्छति, 'Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.'

ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा-श्रु-स्मृ-दृशाम् , सनः ,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा श्रु स्मृ दृश् इत्येतेषां सन्नन्तानामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

57. After the *Desideratives* formed by the affix *san*, of the verbs *jñā* to know, *s'ru* to hear, *smṛi* to remember, and *dris'* to see, the *Atmanepada* is employed.

The above four roots are *ātmanepadi* when in the *Desiderative* form, the suffix "san" being the *pratyaya* by which *desideratives* are formed.

The verb *jñā* takes the terminations of the *ātmanepada* when used in the senses indicated by the three *sūtras* 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The *desiderative* form of *jñā* would *ex necessitate* take *ātmanepada* affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present *sūtra* however enlarges the scope of *ātmanepada*, by declaring all *desideratives* of *jñā* to be *ātmanepada*, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by *sūtra* 29 ante and the *vārtika* under it, the roots *s'ru*, and *dris'* take the terminations of the *ātmanepada*; when preceded by *sam*, the *desideratives* of those would of course have taken *ātmanepada* affixes by 62, but the present *sūtra* makes it general.

The present *sūtra* however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root *smṛi*.

As धर्मं जिज्ञासते 'he wishes to know (*i.e.* enquires after) religion,' गुरुं श्रुश्रूषते 'he serves the teacher,' नष्टं सुस्मर्यते 'he wishes to remember the lost,' नृपं दिदृच्छते 'he wishes to see the king.'

Why do we say, when taking the affix *san*? Because the primitive verbs will take the *parasmaipada* terminations as जानाति 'he knows,' श्रूयते 'he hears,' स्मरति 'he remembers' पश्यति 'he sees.'

नानोङ्गः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , ङः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाङ्गज्ञानातेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

58. After the desiderative of jñâ when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñâ with the prefix anu is not âtmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñâ. As पुत्रमनुजिज्ञासति 'he enquires after the son.'

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the âtmanepada terminations. As धर्मम् जिज्ञासते 'he inquires after religion.'

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां भ्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम् , भ्रुवः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाच्छ्रुयोतेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of s'ru when preceded by prati and ân the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb s'ru when taking the prefixes prati and ân, is not âtmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्रतिशुश्रूषति and आशुश्रूषति ॥

The word prati and ân must be upasargas; if they are used as karma-pravachaniyas (see I. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply, as देवदत्तं प्रतिशुश्रूषते ॥

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदिर्यः शिङ्गावीशितो वा सम्बन्धी तस्मादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

60. After the verb s'ad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicator s' (s'it) the Atmanepada is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicator श, is conjugated in the âtmanepadi. In connection with this must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. पात्राध्मास्यान्नादाणुदृश्यत्सितिशदसदां पिबजिबूधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपरयच्छै शीयसीदाः by which the root शद् is replaced by शीय before the affixes having an indicator श. Thus शद् + श + ते = शीय + अते = शीयते 'he decays or withers, शीयते 'they two decay,' शीयन्ते 'they decay.'

Why do we say before affixes having an indicator श? Before other affixes it is not âtmanepadi. As अशस्त्वद् 'if he decayed,' शस्त्वति 'he will decay,' शिशस्वति.

The well-known vikaranas like शप् , श &c., the affixes like शन् &c., are शिन् affixes. In other words the root s'ad is âtmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.

अ० प०) ॥ म्रियतेलुङ्लिङ्गोदच ॥ ६१ ॥ म्रियते, लुङ्लिङ्गोः, च (शितः

वृत्तिः ॥ म्रियतेलुङ्लिङ्गोः शितश्चात्मनेपदं भवति अन्यत्र न भवति ॥

61. After the verb *mri* to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory श, as well as when it takes the affixes *luṅ* (aorist III 2. 110) add *liṅ* (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root *mṛ* (to die), is marked with a इ as an indicatory letter; so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुङ् *luṅ* (Aorist) and लिङ् *liṅ* (Benedictive) tenses as well as to those tenses which are शित्. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take शित् affixes are the special tenses, i.e., the Present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, *liṅ*, *luṅ*, and *s'it* affixes, that the root *mri* takes the terminations of the atmanepada. Thus the aorist अवृत्त *amṛita* he died; Benedictive मृषीष्ट *mṛishishta* 'may he die.' Similarly before *sit* affixes: thus म्रियते 'he dies,' = मृ + श + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् शयतिङ् चु) म्रिय + अ + ते = म्रियते (VI. 4. 77. अचि इनुधातुभ्रंवां प्योरियङ्ङुवङ्गौ) म्रियते, म्रियन्ते. The root *mṛ* belongs to the sixth class of verbs called *Tudadi* which take the vikaraṇa श in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is *parasmaipadi*. As मरिष्यति he will die. अमरिष्यत्.

पूर्ववत्सनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत्, सनः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वो धो धातुः आत्मनेपदी तद्वत्सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix *san*, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix *san*. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is *parasmaipadi*, its desiderative will be also *parasmaipadi*; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was atmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् *san*, will be atmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन् *san*. In other words, that by reason of which the atmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same terminations

to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sūtra 12, that roots having an anudatta accented vowel as indicatory or a ह् n as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the âtmanepada. Thus आस्ते 'he sits down' and शेते 'he sleeps.' The verb आस् (to sit down) and शीङ् (to lie down) will remain âtmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus असिष्यते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sūtra 17 declared that the verb निविष् is âtmanepadi, as निविशते. This will be âtmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविषिष्यते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sūtra 40, आक्रमते is âtmanepadi, the Desiderative आचिक्रंसते will also be âtmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61, शीयते and म्रियते are âtmanepadi, yet शिष्यस्यति 'he wishes to lie down,' म्रुष्यति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the âtmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots शद् and च्छद् only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take âtmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the âtmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect, will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As अनुचिकीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate.' पराचिकीर्षति. Here the root कृष् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of âtmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rules 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of ञ् causing âtmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of âtmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are गुप्, तिङ्, कित्, मान्, बध्, दान्, and शान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्स, तितित्, चिकित्स, मीमांस, बीभत्स, शीशन्स and दीदान्स, yet by the maxim अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं सधुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुप् &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्स &c." Thus we have जुगुप्सते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; मीमांसते he investigates, &c.

आम्प्रत्ययवृत्तौऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्-प्रत्ययवत् ,
कृञः , अनुप्रयोगस्य (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix *âm*, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb *kri* when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (लिट्): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding आम् to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or अस् (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or ātmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एध् (to increase, prosper) is ātmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the ātmanepada. Thus एधांचक्रे (he prospered). Similarly इद् (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary कृ after it will be parasmaipada, as इन्द्राच्चकार (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अस् retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एधाम्भूव , एधामास.

The word *ām-pratyaya* of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix *ām* (III. I. 35 and 36. कास्प्रत्ययादानमन्त्रे लिटि) comes.' Of the verb *kriñ*, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the ātmanepada like the verb that takes the affix *ām*. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (*vidhi*), then there would be the termination of the ātmanepada even in examples like उद्गजांचकार and उद्गमांचकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a *vidhi* (a general injunction) and a *niyama* (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word *pūrvavat* of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a *niyama* or restrictive rule.

It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40, कृञ्चातुप्रयुज्यते लिटि, meaning, the verb कृि is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs, that take am. In this sūtra (III. I. 40) the word कृि is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs कृङ्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word कृि is taken from the fourth word of sūtra V. 4. 50, अभूतज्ञाने कृञ्चस्तिथौगे &c., and the letter णि is taken from sūtra V. 4. 58 कृञ्चोद्दितीय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb कृि is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must, however, be noted that the word कृि in this sūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र- उपाभ्याम्, युजेः, अयज्ञ-पात्रेषु, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवपूर्वाद् युजेरयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगविषयात्प्रत्ययपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

64. After the verb yuj to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb जुजिर् 'to join' is svaritē, and consequently by sūtra 72 it is always ātmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of ātmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb जुज् preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the ātmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he joins or employs'; उपयुङ्क्ते 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As इन्द्रं न्यञ्चि पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति.

Vārtika :—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the ātmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उपयुङ्क्ते and नियुङ्क्ते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सम्, निर्, and इद्, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, निम् and दुम्, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः क्षण्वः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, क्षण्वः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षण्वे तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

65. After the verb kshnu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्षण्व 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is âtmanepadi, when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संक्षण्वते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon', संक्षयुवते 'they two whet', संक्षयुवते 'they all whet.'

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshnu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam, richchha, &c. To this the answer is that, that sūtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः, अनवने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजशालनाभ्यवहारयोरिति रुधादौ पठ्यते । तस्मादनवनेऽपालने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is âtmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुङ्क्ते 'he eats or enjoys'; also bhuñjate, bhuñjāte &c. But पुत्राद् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons', भुनक्त्येनमग्निराहितः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudādi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudādi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore बिभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

अग्र्यौ यत् कर्म यौ चेत् स कर्त्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्र्यौ, यत्, कर्म, यौ, चेत्, सः, कर्त्ता, अनाध्याने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति, कथम् अग्र्यौ यत्कर्म यौ चेत् तदेवकर्म, स एव कर्त्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यानं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix ni (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-ni or non-causal sense becomes the

agent in the causal; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret;' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (णिच्) are conjugated in the ātmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are ātmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as आरोहयते हस्तिपका हस्ती.

The phrase 'ल्ये: (after the causatives)' of this sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras and is understood in them. The sūtra consists of the following words:—ल्ये: 'after the causative;' अल्यौ 'in the non-causative;' यत् 'what;' कर्त्तु 'object;' जौ 'in the causative;' चेत् 'if;' स: 'that;' कर्त्ता nominative;' अनाधान 'except to remember.'

In general, by sūtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the ātmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra applies to the case where fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix णिच्, the terminations are those of the ātmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception, however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपका: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb आरोहन्ति into a causative form. The sentence then will be, आरोहयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly उपसिञ्चन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपका: 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and उपसिञ्चयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled'; पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् 'the attendants see the king'; and दर्शयते राजा स्वयमेव 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this sūtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix णिच्; as आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपका: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and आरोहयमाद्यो हस्ती साध्वारोहति 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully'. Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.

Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-*ni*'? For this rule will not apply when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix *णिच्*; such are the roots of the tenth class or *churādi* in which the *णिच्* is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root *गण* belongs to *churādi* class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As *गणयति गणं गोपालकः* 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is *गणयति गणः स्वयमेव* 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the *parasmaipada*.

Why do we say 'when the object (*karma*) becomes the agent?' Because the rule will not apply, when any other *kāraka* or case, than the *karma* or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus *हृन्ति दात्रेण* 'he cuts with the scythe,' *लवयति दात्रं स्वयमेव* 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word *dātra* was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the *parasmaipada* only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the *sūtra*? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb *सेचयति* in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and *आरोहयमाणो हस्ती भीतान् सेचयति मूत्रेण* 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word *तः* 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of *parasmaipada* are only used. *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and *आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान्* 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word *kartā* (agent) in the *sūtra*? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the *parasmaipada* only would be used. As *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and *तानारोहयति महामात्रः* 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, *स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः* 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and *स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेव* 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भी-स्म्योर्हेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्म्योः . हेतु- भये, (ये ,
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेतेः स्मयतेष्वण्प्रस्तादात्मनेपदं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs *bhī* to fear, and *smi* to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 (स्वतन्त्र कर्त्ता); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens.' सुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' सुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' i.e., the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens,' &c.

Why do we say हेतुभय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the atmanepada will not be used. As कुञ्चिकयैर्नाभयति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्मापयति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

गृध्रिवज्ज्योः प्रलम्भने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृध्रि-वज्ज्योः , प्रलम्भने ,
(येः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृध्रु अभिकाङ्क्षायाम् वञ्चु गतावित्येतयोर्घन्तयोः प्रलम्भने वर्त्तमानयोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

69. After the causatives of the verbs *grīdh* to covet, and *vañch* to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्भन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवके गर्दयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवके वञ्चयते 'he cheats the boy.'

Why do we say 'when it means deceiving,' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As श्वानं गर्धयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अर्हि वञ्चयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः , संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः , च , (योः प्रलम्भने आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लियो ऽयन्तात्संमानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति च शब्दाद् प्रलम्भने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb *lī* to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupāṭha, there are two roots ली, one is technically called लीङ् and means to stick, and belongs to divādi class. The other ली meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what ली is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sūtra is to include the word प्रलम्भन 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word संमानन means to show respect. The word शालीनीकरण means to subdue. As जटाभिरालापयते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' श्येनो वर्तिकाशुक्लापयते 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कत्त्वाशुक्लापयते 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra विभाषा लीयते: VI. 1. 51 declares that the ई of ली is optionally changed into आ before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root ली has any of the above three senses : in these cases the substitution of आ is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. 1. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of 'to show respect, &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As बालकशुक्लापयति

मिथ्योपपदात्कृजोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात् , कृजः ; अभ्यासे , (योः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयन्तात् करोतेर्मिथ्योपपदादात्मनेपदं भवति अभ्यासे ॥

71. After the causative of the verb *kri*, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word *mithya*, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is

employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does] not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in **णि**' is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word *abhyāsa* means doing again, or repetition; as **पदं मिथ्या कारयति** means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly, that is with wrong accent, &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word *mithyā* is used as an upapada?' The causative of *kṛi* will take *parasmaipada* when it has any other upapada. Thus **पदं सुष्ठु कारयति** 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb **कृञ्**'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word *mithyā* will not have *ātmanepada*; as **पदं मिथ्या वाचयति** 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here **वच्** takes *parasmaipada*.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then *parasmaipada* will be used; as **पदं मिथ्याकारयति** 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-ञितः, कर्तृ-अभिप्राये, क्रिया-फले (येः आ० प०) ॥

वक्तिः ॥ स्वरितेतो येषां तेषां जितञ्च तेषां आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्तरि चैव क्रियाफलमभिप्रेति ।

72. After the verb marked with a *svarita*, (*svaritet*) or which has an *indicatory ñ* (*ñit*), the terminations of the *Atmanepada* are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The *anuvṛitti* of the phrase **येः** does not go further. The word **क्रियाफलं** is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the *ātmanepada* is used after verbs having an *indicatory ञ्* or a *svarita* accent. As **यजते** 'he sacrifices for himself'; **पचते** 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb **यज्** and **पच्** are marked with *svarita* accent in the *Dhātupāṭha*, and therefore they take the *ātmanepada* terminations.

Similarly **सुष्ठुते** 'he presses the soma-juice,' **कुरुते** 'he does.' Here the verbs **सुष्ठु** and **कृञ्** have an *indicatory ञ्*.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifices, eating of food, &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As यजन्ति याजकाः 'the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पचन्ति पाचकाः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)'; कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, but to a third party.

अपाद्धदः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपाद्, वदः, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्वदतेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sūtra is clear. As धनकामो न्यायमपवदते 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपवदति.

णिचइच ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिचः, च, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix ni (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sūtra 72. The verbs that take the affix णिच nich are generally causatives. As कदं कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'; आददं पाचयते 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कदं कारयति परस्व 'he causes another's mat to be made.'

समुदाङ्भ्यो यमो अग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उद्-आङ्भ्यः, यमः, अग्रन्थे(कर्त्रभिप्राये आ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उद् आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वार्थमेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति मन्थ-विषयश्चेत्ययोगो न भवति ॥

75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and ân, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 72. As ब्रीहिन् संयच्छते 'he gathers rice'; भारमुद्यच्छते 'he lifts up the load'; वस्त्रमायच्छते 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition आङ् takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sūtras for one compound verb आयम्.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As उद्यच्छति चिकित्सं वैद्यः 'the physician diligently studies medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, आयच्छति.

अनुपसर्गाङ्ङः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, ङङः (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

76. After the verb jñâ when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sūtra also. Thus गां जानीते 'he recognises the cow as his own'; अश्वं जानीते 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as स्वर्गे लोके न प्रजानाति मूढः 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When, however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root ज्ञा takes parasmaipada terminations. देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विभाषापपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा . उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्त्रभि० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समीपेभूयमाण शब्दान्तरमुपपदं तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषाऽ-त्मनेपदं भवति ॥

77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicated by an upapada, *i.e.* by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As *स्वं यज्ञं यजति* or *यजते* 'he sacrifices for his own yajña'; *स्वं कटं करोति* or *कुरुते* 'he makes his own cot.'; *स्वं पुत्रमपवदति* or *अपवदते*; *स्वं मोदनं पाचयते* or *पाचयति*, &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्तरि, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात्कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्यस्मात् अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदयुक्तम् ॥

78. After the rest, *i.e.* after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed in marking the agent (*i.e.* in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else, that is to say, where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word *s'esha* or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudatta vowel or a *ङ* as *it*, will take Atmanepada terminations. As *आस्ते शेते*. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudatta accent or a *ङ* as *it*. Thus *याति* 'he goes,' *वाति* 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root *विश* when preceded by *नि* takes Atmanepada terminations, as *निविशते*. When not preceded by *नि* but any other preposition, it will take the parasmaipada termination. As *आविशति*, *प्रविशति*.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As *पच्यते* 'it is cooked,' *गम्यते* 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively ? As in the following example :—पच्यते अद्दिनः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sūtra the word कर्तरि of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb ; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपराभ्यांकृञः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-पराभ्याम् । कृञः ।
(परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वान् करोतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

79. After the verb kri to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging," &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling," &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sūtra 72, because the root कृञ् has an indicative ञ्. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति 'he imitates,' पराकरोति 'he does well.'

अभिप्रत्ययिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः
क्षिपः ॥ (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वान् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप् to throw, is svariteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante, it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipada instead. As अभिक्षिपति 'he throws on', प्रतिक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say 'when coming after abhi, prati, and ati'? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sūtra 72. As अक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तृ of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अभिक्षिप्यते स्वमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राह्ण ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राव् । वहः (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र पूर्वाद् वहतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra. parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह to carry is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take prasmaipada, as आवहते 'he brings.'

परिपूर्वः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः । मृषः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपूर्वाद् मृष्यतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मृष "to suffer" is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमृष्यति 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आमृष्यते.

According to some authors, the root वह of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह preceded by परि will also take prasmaipada terminations; as परिवहति

व्याङ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आङ्-परिभ्यः । रमः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विआङ्परिभ्येवं पूर्वाद् रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and ân, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudatt and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest'; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take atmanepada termination. अनिरमते

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । (रमः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाग्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुपरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix णिच्.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

विभाषाऽकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् (रमः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाग्रमतेरकर्मकाद्विभाषा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely. This declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावदुक्तमुपरमति or उपरमते, he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रुद्रुस्रुभ्योः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन एङ्-प्रु-द्रु-स्रु-भ्यः । योः । (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एङ् प्रु द्रु स्रु इत्येतेभ्योऽप्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, nas' to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix ni (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ātmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As बोधयति he expands; योधयति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; अध्यापयति he teaches; प्राप्नयति he causes to obtain; द्रावयति he causes to melt; श्रावयति he causes to trickle.

Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with reason. As बोधयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, बोधयति काष्ठानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus गृ means both 'to move' and 'to obtain,' द्रु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and लु means 'to flow' as well as to 'trickle.' As प्रवते he obtains; अयोद्ववति the iron melts; कुण्डिका स्रवति the water-vessel drips. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इद् is always compounded with अचि.

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरणचलन-अर्थेभ्यः च । (येः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्यश्च चलनार्थेभ्यश्च घातुर्बोधयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदेः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (येः) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which ātmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरणं means 'eating,' and चलनं means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगरयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat; भोजयति he feasts; चलयति he moves; कम्पयति he shakes. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects, i. e. not possessed with reason.

Vart :—The prohibition of the root अद् to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अद् to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus अस्मि देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्तेन he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अथाचकर्मकाश्चित्तवत् कर्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथो । अकर्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्तृकात् (येः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः । अण्वन्तो धो घातुर्कर्मकाश्चित्तवत्कर्तृकथनत्वाद्गण्यन्तात् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase **शेः** is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As **आस्ते देवदत्तः** Devadatta sits; **आसयते देवदत्तं** he makes Devadatta to sit; **शेते देवदत्तः** Devadatta sleeps; **शाययति देवदत्तं** he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajñadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is **आरोहयते**, in the Atmanepada, from the root **आरुह** to mount; and not **आरोहयति**.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from **कारि** the causative from **कृ**, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only **कायते** though the person has a will; for the original root **कृ** though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (*Ibid*).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from **शेषि** the causative from **शुष** 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as **व्रीहयः** 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, *i. e.*, the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes **शेषयते** in the atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; *e. g.*, **शेषयते व्रीहीनातपः** the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid*).

न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहरुचिनृतिवदवसः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥
न । पा-दमि-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-नृति-वद-वसः । (शेः । परस्मै-
पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादमि आङ्यम आङ्यस परिमुह रुचि नृति वदवसः इत्येतेभ्योयञन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं
न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ८ तित उ धेद उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs *pâ* to drink, *dam* to tame, *âyam* to extend, *âyas* to exert oneself, *parimuh* to be bewildered, *ruçh* to shine, *nrit* to dance, *vad* to speak, and *vas* to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root *पा* to drink, has the sense of *nigaraṇa* or swallowing, the roots *दम* &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root *नृ* to dance has the sense of *चरन* or moving, but still these verbs have Atmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As *पाययते* he causes to drink, *दमयते* he causes to be tame, *आयाययते* he lengthens, *आयासयते* he troubles, *परिमोहयते* he entices, *रोचयते* he makes agreeable, *नर्चयते* he causes to dance, *वाद्ययते* he makes to speak, *वासयते* he causes to dwell.

Vart:—The root *धे* should be enumerated along with *पा* &c. Thus *धावयते* *शिशुनेकं सतीची*. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाक्यषः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यषः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यषन्ताद्धातोर्वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix *kyash*.

The affix *क्यष* is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12 *भृशान्धो भृज्यन् वेर्लोपश्च इलः* after the words *लोहित* &c. These roots take optionally parasmaipada. As *लोहितायति* or *ते* he reddens. *पटपटायति* or *ते* he makes *paṭ paṭ*.

द्युद्भ्योलुङि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुङि । (वा परस्मै-पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादिभ्यो लुङि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs *dyut* to shine, &c. the terminations of the parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of *luṅ* (aorist) follow.

The *Dyutādi* verbs are 22 in number, to be found in *Dhatupāṭha* in the *Bhuadi* class. By the use of the word *द्युद्भ्यः* in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are *anudatta* and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably *ātmanepadī*, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अद्युतत् or अद्योतिष्ठ he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (लुट्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As द्योतते he shines.

For a list of Dytādī verbs see Dhatupāṭha.

वृद्धभ्यः स्वसनोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धभ्यः । स्व-सनोः । (वा । परस्मैप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्, वृष्ट शय स्वन्दन्कपू । एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्वसनि च परतो वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist, &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the वृतादि 'sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृष्ट to grow, भृष्टू to fart or break wind ; स्वन्दु to ooze, and कृपु to be able. As 1st Future वस्सति or वसिष्यते, it will be ; conditional अवर्त्सयत् or अवर्त्सिष्यत् ; Desiderative विवृस्सति or विवर्त्सिष्यते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वर्त्तते it is.

लुटिचक्रूपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च रूपः । (स्वसनो वा परस्मैप०)

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्वसनोश्च रूपे परस्मैपदं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb klip to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when lut. (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed

The verb क्लृप् is one of the five verbs of the sub-class वृतादि of the last apnorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्व or सन् follow. The present sūtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट्. Thus in Luṭ we have—क्लृप्तसि or क्लृप्तासे thou wilt be ; in 1st Future we have :—क्लृप्स्यसे or क्लृप्स्यसि he will be ; in the Desiderative we have :—क्लिप्स्यति or क्लिप्स्यति ; in the conditional we have :—अक्लृप्स्यत् or अक्लृप्स्यत्.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कङ्काराद्, एका-संज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कङ्काराः कर्त्तृभारय इति वक्ष्यति आ कृतस्माद् सुत्रावधेर्द्वयं कङ्कार्यननुकूलित्वान्नः
सत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति चेदित्येषु ॥

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kaṅkārah Karma-
dhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to
be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims
are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed,
would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the
recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10. and it is
also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.)
Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not
be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have
only one name, i.e. 'heavy.' Thus in निद् to divide विद् to split, the इ is
'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in निद्वा teaching निद्वा begging.

Thus in the root लब् the ल is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its
aorist we have the form लतलब्. Similarly कर्त्तरलब्. The rule VII. 4. 93
not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्, कार्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ (उत्सर्गविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यं भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then
the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When
two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultane-
ously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called
vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or
an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and

a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañ pratyâhâra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short ऋ.' As Vṛiksha + bhyâm = Vṛikshâbhyam. The next rule declares:—When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter or jhal pratyâhâra follows, ॠ is the substitute for the final short ऋ of an inflective base.' As Vṛiksha + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyah follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyâhâras yañ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short ऋ, or substitute ॠ? The present sūtra gives the reply, ॠ is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ॠ follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha + bhyah = Vṛikshebyah.

यूस्त्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-ऊ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तमुक्ताकारान्तं च स्त्याख्यं यद्वयं नदी संज्ञं भवति ।

3. Word-forms ending in long ī and ū being names of females are called Nadi.

The word यु is compound of ई + ऊ. The word stryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmanīṣas. As the words कुमारी Kumārī a virgin, यवानू, yavānū rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadi class is somewhat peculiar, which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 ऋट् is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory क when they come after a word ending with a Nadi.

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the dative of इन्द्रि will be इन्द्रिने.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणीः leader of a village; सेनानीः leader of an army; खलपः a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये, खलप्ये.

Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै and खलप्ये स्त्रियै.

जे यद्वयं स्थानाव स्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयङ्-उयङ्-स्थानौ,
अस्त्री, (यूनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ् उयङोः स्थानं ननयोऽपितीयद्वयं स्थानं ता यु नदीसंज्ञी न भवतः ॥

4. Feminine words ending in *i* and *û* which admit the substitute (इयङ्) *iyāṇ* and (उवङ्) *uvaṇ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadi; except the word *strī*, (which is called nadi) notwithstanding its substituting *iyāṇ*.)

The definition of Nadi given in the last sūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus *त्री*, happiness, *भू* brow, admit the substitutes *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is *हे त्रीः*, *हे भूः* &c., while the vocative singular of *strī* is *हे त्रि*.

वाग्नि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आग्नि, (नयडुवङ-यू-नदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ्वङ्स्थानी य आग्निपरतो वा नदीसंज्ञी न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in *i* and *û*, though admitting *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* substitutes, are optionally termed Nadi, when the affix *ām* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strī*, which is always Nadi.

त्री + *आम्* = *त्री* इयङ् + *आम्* = *त्रीयाम्*; *भू* + *आम्* = *भूयाम्*; or *त्री* + *आम्* = *त्रीनुद्* + *आम्* (VII. 1. 54.) = *त्रीयाम्*; *भू* + *आम्* = *भूयाम्*. But *strī* is always nadi. and we have *त्रीयाम् strīnām*.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

ङिति ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङिति (ङ-इति) ह्रस्वः, च, (युक्त्र्या-नदी-इयङ्व-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिति परतो ह्रस्वस्य व्योः सन्ध्यायी यः सन्ध्यायी इयङ्वङ्स्थानी च य वा नदीसंज्ञी भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicative *ñ* (ñit) follows, then feminine words ending in short *i* and *û* are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long *i* and *û* which admit of *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ*; but not so the word *strī*, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long *i* and *û* have been defined as nadi, words in short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ*. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicative ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicative *ñ* are the Dative, Ablative. Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:—

Dative नतये or नत्यै, येनये or येन्यै, त्रिये or त्रियै; Ablative and Genitive नतेः or नत्याः, येनो or येन्याः, त्रिवः or त्रियाः; Locative नतो or नत्याद्, येनो or येन्यां त्रियि or त्रियां. So also भ्रुवे or भ्रुवे &c. But stri is always स्तुवे &c.

शेषो घ्यसखि ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, घि, असखि, (ह्रस्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषो ऽत्र चिंसङ्गो भवति सखिशब्दं वर्जितित्वा । न ह्य शेषः ? इत्यनियमोपपत्तिः-
यन्महोपायं स्यात्तं च यन्महोपायं च शेषः ॥

7. The rest of the words that end in short ए and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word śesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short ए or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicative न्, the ghi nouns gunate there vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + ऊ = अग्ने + ए = अग्नेवे to the fire. So also वायु + ऊ = वायवे to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्यु and सखी.

पतिः समास एव ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिः, समासे, एव, (चि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दः समास एव चिंसङ्गो भवति ॥

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sūtra; the present sūtra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या by the lord but प्रजापतिना by the lord of creatures. So also पत्ये and प्रजापत्ये; पत्युः and प्रजापत्ये; पत्यौ and प्रजापत्यौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guna of the vowel before the four ऋ affixes by VII. 3. 111.

षष्ठी युक्तश्छन्दसि वा ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी-युक्तः, छन्दसि, वा, (पतिः चि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तेन युक्तः पतिशब्दः छन्दसि विषये वा, चिंसङ्गो भवति ।

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra. By the last sūtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sūtra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature

कुलुञ्चानां वन्दे or वन्दे नमः salutation to the lord of the Kulunchas.

Why do we say 'when used in connection with a noun in the genitive case'? Observe नमो वन्दे वा वन्देतिर्नमः.

Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe चान्दस्य वन्दे.

ह्रस्वं लघु ॥ १० ॥ पदानि । ह्रस्वम्, लघु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्ववर्गं लघुवर्गं भवति ॥

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of निद to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is gunated before the affix वा + आ, as नेत्ता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is gunated before a Saravadhataka or an ārdhadhatuka affix. So also वेत्ता, ज्ञप्तीकरत् and ज्ञप्तीकरत्.

संयोगे गुरु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगे, गुरु, (ह्रस्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगे वरतो ह्रस्ववर्गं गुरुवर्गं भवति ॥

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of विद्या 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus विद्या is derived from विद् + या (III. 3. 103, let the affix य come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a' consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुर्वता and निर्वता.

दीर्घञ्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घम्, च, (गुरु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घवाचकं गुरुवर्गं भवति ॥

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvritti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As i of ईदं चक्रे he endeavoured, ईदं चक्रे he saw. Here the letter ई is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the aug nt आच्. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये ङ्गम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्मात्, प्रत्यय-विधिः, तद्-आदि, प्रत्यये, ङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात् प्रत्ययो विधीयते चातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा तदादि ङ्गवर्गं प्रत्यये वरतो ङ्गवर्गं भवति ॥

13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (aṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih, a precept i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, 1. S. that which begins therewith pratyaye 7. S.=in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an aṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word aṅga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ+त=कर्तृ he will do हर्तृ he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति. Here because the root कृ and हृ gets the name अङ्ग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84). Similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhi in औपगवः &c.

The words कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix त् &c. उपगु+अङ्=औपगवः; कौपटवः. Here upagu and kapaṭu are aṅga with regard to an. Similarly कृ+स्य+वः=करिष्य+वः=करिष्यावः. Here the whole word form Karishya is regarded as aṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i.e. karishya will also be called aṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or वु before the final affixes. Thus कुरु+वु+ह=कुरुवुह+ह=कुरुवुहानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa+num+i=kuṇḍan+i=kuṇḍāni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.' Then in कृि+हृती=हृती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between ई+हृ=ई. If कृि was here an Anga, then its last last vowel would have been replaced by हृवृ (VI. 4. 77), the form being कृिहृति.

Why have we used the word विधि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Anga.' Thus in दधि अहुना, though the affix adhuna is placed after

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word दधि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the द of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word स्त्रिये + अयं = स्त्रिययं for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat puruṣa compound the dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री + अयं would have been स्त्रिययं, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्-तिङ्-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवन्तं तिङन्तं च शब्दरूपं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tiñ III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and tiñ are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण + जन् = ब्राह्मणाः the Brāhmanas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्त has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणितरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

नः क्ये ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तं शब्दरूपं क्ये परतः पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e.), the affixes kyaeh, kyañ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन् + क्यच् = राजीव 3rd Per. s, राजीवति he behaves like

a king. So also राजर्+ववर्=राजावते (VII. 4. 5.) चर्नर्+ववर्=चर्नावते or चर्नावति. The result of its being called pada is that the र् of राजर्, चर्नर् &c., is elided by Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of र् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prâtipadika). Thus राजर्+ववर्=राज+व=राजीव (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes ववर् &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e., words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sûtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sûtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in र् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाक् speech, लुक् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाक्वते and लुक्वते. Had they been pada, the र् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं पदसंबन्धं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory र् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sûtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sûtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares : —“Affixes ठक् and क्क् come after the vridhha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्.” Here the affix क्क् has an indicatory र्, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत्+क्क्=भवदीयः VII. 1. 2, belonging to you. The result of being pada is that ते is changed into द् (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly र् is इत् in तुर् (After the word ūrṇâ there is yuः V. 2 123). Thus कर्त्तुः; so also वृत् V. 1. 106, has र् as indicatory. Thus श्रुत्विद्यः There is no guṇa because of its being pada

स्वादिष्व सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनामस्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानवर्जितेषु पूर्वं पदसंबन्धं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in क्प् (V. 4. 151) follow, not being Sarvanāmasthāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sûtra. Thus the case-affix भ्वाक् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजर्+भ्वाक्=राजभ्वाक्, राजनिः, राजत्वं, राजता, राजतरः, राजतयः. The र् is elided by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanāmsthāna'? Observe राजन् + औ = राजानी two kings. राजानः kings. The न is not elided.

यचि भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य्-अचि, भम्, (स्वादिष्वसो)

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारादावजादौ च स्वादौ सर्वनामस्थानवर्धिते प्रत्यये परतः पूर्व भसंभं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वत्पुपसंस्थानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृषपवस्ववयोः ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanāmsthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः a grandson of Garga. So also वात्स्यः. The affix याञ् begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final क् is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दाक्षिः. Here the affix इञ् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final क् of Daksha.

The word यचि is in the 7th case meaning when य् or ऋच् follow; and by the last Vart of Sūtra I 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

Vart.—The words गमच्, आङ्गिरच् and ननुच् should be treated as Bha when the affix वच् follows. Thus गमस्वच् like the sky. आङ्गिरस्वच् like the Angiras. ननुस्वच् like the man. By being Bha, the च् is not changed into र्, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart.—The words वृषच् is treated as Bha in the veaas when the words वञ् and अश्च follow. Thus वृषद्वञ्चुः; वृषद्वश्चस्व नेने. Here had the word vṛi-shan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into च (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसौ सत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सौ, सतु-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारान्तं सकारान्तं षडक्षं सत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भसंभं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word उदश्वित्वाद् having butter milk Nom. Sing. उदश्वित्वाद् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, बिद्मत्वाद् उलाहकः the cloud full of thunder. So also यशस्वी famous;

ययस्वी full of milk. Thus उदश्वित् + वदुप् = उदश्वित्वत्, ययस् + विनि (V. 2. 121) = ययस्विद्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त् of उदश्वित् &c., and the व् of ययस् &c., are not changed into द and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sūtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. viz., उदश्वित्वत् and ययस्विद् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि,
छन्दसि, (भम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि अयस्मयादि छन्दसि विषये साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly forced in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस् + भव = अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मयं वर्ण iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयानि पात्राणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोमयं. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word अयवत् formed by अयस् + वद, the स् is first changed into क् by treating the word rich as a pada. Then the word अयक् is treated as bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into ग् before वत्. For had it been pada, the form would have been अयवत् Rīgvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus च सुसुभास अयवता गणेन.

अहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहुषु बहुवचनम् भवति ॥

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मणाः पठन्ति. The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्विकयो द्विविवचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकयोः, द्विविवचन-
एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विविकत्योरर्थयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus ब्राह्मणी पचतः the two Brahmins cook. ब्राह्मणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यधिकारो वेदितव्यः, यदित कर्तुं वस्तुजनित्वानः कारक इत्येवं वदे-
दितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kāraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.' Here Rama is agent kāraka; 'food' is object kāraka; 'vessel' is a locative kāraka, fire is an instrumental kāraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kāraka and 'master' is the dative kāraka.

The word 'karaka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and the occasions that are required to complete an action will be kārakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāraka to a verb

ध्रुवमपायेऽपदानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्रुवम्, अपाये, अपादा-
नम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रुवं पदपावयुक्त नपाये साध्ये यदवधिभूतं तत्कारकमपदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्रुवस्याविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāna or Tablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apādāna kāraka. Thus ग्रामादागच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वतादवरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थाद्धीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from the chariot. The Apādāna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grāma, purvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

Vart.—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus :—अधर्माच्छुन्यते he dislikes injustice; अधर्माद्विरति he ceases from injustice. धर्मात्प्रमादति he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-त्रा-अर्थानाम्, भय-हेतुः, (करके अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेत्पर्यानां प्रायत्पर्यानां च घातनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर् तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear procedes is called Apādāna kāraka.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौरभ्यो विभेति he is afraid of thieves, चौरभ्य उद्विजते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौरभ्य रक्षायते or रक्षति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case'? Observe अरण्ये विभेति or जयते he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजे रसादः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजेः, असौदः, (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पराजयस्य जयतेः प्रयोगेऽसौदो योऽर्थः सौदु' नययते तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parāji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apādāna kāraka.

When the verb jñ to conquer, with the preposition parā has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe यद्वृत् पराजयते he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थानां नीत्सितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, ईत्सितः (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां घातनां प्रयोगे च ईत्सितोऽर्थः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ।

27. In the case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing', the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apādāna kāraka.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention. As बन्धेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गं वारयति क्षेत्रे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्धा येनादर्शनं निवृत्तिः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्धा, येन, अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धा निमित्तं येनादर्शनमात्मन इच्छति तत्कारकनपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

28 When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apādāna kāraka.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्द्धते or निक्षीयते he conceals or hides from the teacher ; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षे he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आख्यातोपयोगे ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-ख्याता, उप-योगे, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपयोगे साध्ये य आख्याता तत्कारकनपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apādāna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आख्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायापादयति or आगमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe गच्छन् शृणोति he hears the player.

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्तुः, प्रकृतिः, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्यर्थस्य जन्मनः कर्ता जायमानः तस्यैवा प्रकृतिः कारकं हेतुः तत्कारकनपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called Apādāna.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the

root jan is put in the ablative case. As *शृङ्गाच्छरे जायते*, the arrow is produced from horn. *घोरोयाद् वृक्षिको जायते* the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूकर्तुः प्रभवो य स्तत्कारकनपादावसंभवं भवति ॥

31. The source of the agent of the verb *bhu*, to become is called *Apādāna*.

The phrase 'of the agent (*karuth*)' is understood here. The word *प्रभव* means the source or that from which anything arises. As *हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति* the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. *काश्मीरेभ्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति*. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्ता यमभिप्रैति तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंभवं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाग्रहणं नपि कर्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

Though the word *कर्मणा* in the *sūtra* is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As *उपाध्यायाय गौं ददाति* he gives the cow to the teacher. *नामकदाय भिक्षां ददाति* he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As *आह्वाय निगृह्णे* he censures for the sake of *Śraddha*. *युद्धाय चण्डाले* he prepares for battle. *पत्न्यै श्वेते* she sleeps for her husband.

Vart:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (*karma*) gets the name of Instrument (*karana*) and the recipient (*Sampradāna*) is called object (*karma*).

Thus *यजुना यज्ञं यजते* or *यजुं यज्ञाय ददाति* he sacrifices with an animal to *Rudra*, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to *Rudra*.'

सहयर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि-अर्थानाम्, प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सहयर्थानां साहाय्यं प्रयोजने प्रीयमाणो योऽर्थे करणकारकं संप्रदानसंभवं भवति ॥

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root *ruch* 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (*artha*) as the word *ruchi* or 'liking' are *रुच्यर्थः*. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called *ruchi*. As *देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः* the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. *रुच्यदत्ताय स्वदते उपुषः* Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here *modaka* is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe *देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि*. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word *pathi* being in the 7th case.

**स्नायन्नुड्-स्याशपां शीरस्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नायन्नुड्-
स्या-शपाम्, शीरस्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नायन्नुड् स्या यत् इत्येतेषां शीरस्यमानो योऽर्थः सत्कारकं संप्रदानवचं भवति ॥

34. In the case of verbs *slāgh* to praise, *hnu* to take away *sthā* to stand, and *śap* to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called *Sampradāna*.

The word *शीरस्यमान* means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As *देवदत्ताय स्नायते* he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As *देवदत्ताय हुते* he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta, *देवदत्ताय तिष्ठते* she offers herself to Devadatta (for sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). *देवदत्ताय शपते* he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe *देवदत्ताय स्नायति पथि*. Here *pathi* is in the Locative case.

**धारे रुतमर्कः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋकः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्कः योऽर्थः सत्कारकं संप्रदानवचं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb *dhāri* 'to owe,' the creditor is called *Sampradāna*.

The word *उत्तमर्क* is compounded of two words *उत्तम* best and *ऋक* debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to *ऋयमर्क* debtor. As *देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति* he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe *देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति ग्रामे* he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

स्पृहे रीगितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईगितः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृह ईप्सायां, पुष्पादावह्मः पटवने, तस्य इगिति वेगः ईप्सात्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb *sprih* to desire, the thing desired is called *Sampradāna kāraka*.

The verb *स्पृह* to desire, belongs to the *churādi* class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires flowers, *वनेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe *पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति* he desires flowers in the forest. Here *वने* is in the Locative case.

क्रुधद्रुह्योः सूर्यार्थानां यं प्रतिकोपः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुह-
ह्योः-असूय-अर्थानां, यं, प्रतिकोपः (का० संप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधादर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्वरकारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* to be angry, *druh* to injure, *irshyā* to envy, *asūyā* to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *irshyā* jealousy; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions. As *देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति* or *असूयति* he is angry upon, (i. e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of *Devadatta*. Here *Devadatta* is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus *भार्यामीर्ष्यति* he is jealous of his wife, i. e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word *bhāryā* is in the accusative case.

क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुहोः, उपा-
सृष्टयोः, कर्म (का० यं प्रतिकोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयोः रूपसर्गसंबन्धयोः यं प्रतिकोपस्वरकारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs *krudh* and *druh*, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma karaka* or object.

This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्तमित्रमुच्यति अभिबुध्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय मुच्यति.

राधीहयोर्यस्य विप्रश्नः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईहयोः, यस्य, विप्रश्नः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीवेष्टकारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रश्नः, विविधः प्रश्नः, विप्रश्नः; च कस्य भवति यस्य गुणायुधं पृच्छते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs rādh, to propitiate, and iksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राध्यति-ईहते गर्गः. Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नाति or ईहते वा गुहः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्मुखां श्रुतः पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्मुख्याम्, श्रुतः, पूर्वस्य, कर्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिआङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य शृणोतेः कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Sru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

The compound verb प्रतिश्रु and आश्रु means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय वां प्रतिश्रुतेति—आश्रुतेति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिश्रुणश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-श्रुः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य, कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च पृच्छतेः कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्तृभूतं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and [prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे जुहुवति. They encourage the Hotri, i.e. the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुगः and प्रतिगः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतमंकरणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकतमम्, करणम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियाप्रोचदौ यद् बहुव्रीहिकारकं विवक्षितं तत्साधकतमं कारकं करणसंबन्धं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karana kāraka.

As दाक्षिणं कुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना द्विनति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kārakās, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कुवे गर्गकुलस्य the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का साधकतमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकतमं यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंबन्धं भवति चकारात् करणसंबन्धं च ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as karana, Instrument.

The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this. As अवाह् दीव्यति or अद्वै दीव्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रयणे, संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकतमम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रयणे साधकतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb *parikrī*, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word *परिक्रये* means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As *यताय परिक्रीतो ऽनुग्रहि यतेन परिक्रीतो ऽनुग्रहि*.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधिकरणम्,
(का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाअयप्रतयोर्धारणं क्रियां प्रति य आधारस्तत्कारकमधिकरणं संज्ञं भवति ॥

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called *Adhikarana* or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called *ādhāra*. As *कटे आस्ते* he is seated on the mat. *कटे शेते* he is sleeping on the mat. *स्यास्यं पचति* he cooks in the pot. The *Ādhikarana* takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिशीङ्स्यासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि । अधि-शीङ्-स्या-आसास्-
कर्म, (का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीङ् स्या आस् इत्येतेषां साधारण्यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs *śī* to lie down, *stha*, to stand, *ās* to sit, when preceded by the preposition *adhi*, is however called *karma kāraka* or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As *ग्राममधिषेते* अधिविशुति or *अध्यास्ते* he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविशश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः, च, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विषयेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb *abhinivīś* to enter, is also called *karma-kāraka*.

As ग्रामनिनिदिष्टे he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेष्टः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिनिवेष्टः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपावध्याङ् वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आङ्-वसः,
(का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप अनु अधि आङ् इत्येव पूर्वस्य वसतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मद्वयं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वसतेरपर्यस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and ân, is called karma-kāraka.

As ग्राममुपवसति वना the army dwells in the village पर्वतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततमम्, कर्म,
(का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रियया यदाहुनिष्टतमं तत्कारकं कर्मद्वयं भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामं गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe नाश्वेन रथं बध्नाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as the horse is not the agent of the verb, the word नाश्व takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसोदनं भुङ्क्ते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word âdhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take

the anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहं प्रविशति he enters the house, we could not say खोदन् वसति he cooks the food, सक्तुं पिबति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-kāraka, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च,
अनीप्सितम्, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुं रीक्षिततन् क्रियया युज्यते तेनैव चेत् प्रकारेण चदनीप्सितं युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंबन्धो विधीयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anipsita or object of aversion. Thus विषं भक्षयति he eats poison, चोरां पश्यति. He sees the thieves. ग्रामं गच्छन् वृक्षमूलां न्युपसर्पति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकथितं च वत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंबन्धो भवति ॥

51. And that karaka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अयादाय अधिकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, वेदुं दोग्धि वधः he milks the cow (her milk) उपनयदवाः वां 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here वेदुं and उपनय are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases; as, वेग्वाः (ablative) पशवोऽस्मिन्, अस्मिन् (locative) अवसति वां.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kārīkā:—दुग्धात् पशुं दग्धं गच्छेत् त्रिकं वि ह वातु वि नग्धं युवात् ॥ अकथितं स्वाकथितं तथा स्वाग्नी ह कृत् वहात् ॥

In the case of the roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पक् 'to cook,' दध् 'to punish,' बध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ज्ञ् 'to tell' याच् 'instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ् 'to churn' 'जुप् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, ह, कृप्, and वह all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गां दोग्धि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं याचते वसुधां. He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, गर्गाञ् शतं दण्डयति, ब्रजसवयवद्वि गां, नाणवकं पयानं पृच्छति, वृक्षसवचिनोति फलानि, नाणवकं धनं ब्रूते-यास्तिवा, शतं जयति देवदत्तं, जुषां क्षीरनिधिं नयनाति, देवदत्तं शतं मुञ्चति; ग्रामसत्तां नयति-हरति-कर्षति-बहति वा are examples of the other roots in order. नाणवकं धनं भाष ते वक्ति वा, बलिंवसुधां निचते, तां दुषां संवरसस्यायै वरयानि विभावसे are instances of this kind of object, because याच् or याच् and मिच् or वृ have the same meaning as ज्ञ् and वाच्, the roots given in the Kāśikā.

Obs.—The roots चि, जुप्, पक् मन्थ्, दध्, जि, कृप् ह and ever वृ are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in the classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दुह् to जुप्, the nouns पयः, वसुधां, फलानि, जुषां, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, वृक्षं, क्षीरनिधिं &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अज्, is the principal object and शतं the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशब्द कर्माकर्म काणा मशिकर्ता स खी ॥
५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शब्द-कर्मा-कर्म-काणाम्,
अशिकर्ता, सः, खी (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्ध्यर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च घातनां तथाशब्द कर्मकाणा नकर्माकाणां च अवयवानां यः कर्ता च अवयवानां कर्मसंबन्धो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी वक्ष्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वहेर नियन्तु कर्तृ कल्पेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आदि खाद्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवेर हिंसायस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion' 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of verbs that have

some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-*ni* or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix *ni*).

In the case of the roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.

रामः स्वर्गं गच्छत्
इमे वेदार्थं गच्छुः
देवा अहुतमाह्वयन्
विभिर्देवैर्गच्छन्त्येव
पृथ्वीं वलिते आसत्

CAUSAL.

अह्नुस्वर्गं गच्छयत्
स्वर्गं वेदार्थं गच्छयत्
देवान् अहुतमाह्वयत्
विभिर्देवैर्गच्छयत्
पृथ्वीं वलिते आह्वयत्

But in रामवति रामो गोविन्दं (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Rāma to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दं गच्छयति 'Vishnu mitra prompts Rāma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Rāma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word गच्छयन् in the sūtra गतिमुद्दि &c. गच्छयन् may be either गच्छो येषां क्रिया or गच्छो येषां कर्म.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots गच्छति (ङ) गच्छति (ङ) and गच्छायते (denom. of गच्छ) have to be excluded from the rule; as, गच्छति देवदत्तः दाययति देवदत्तेन; गच्छति-गच्छायते-देवदत्तः; गच्छयति-गच्छाययति-देवदत्तेन. And the roots लु, वा with वि and लृ with उप must be included in the rule; as, गृह्णीति विज्ञानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः गच्छयति-विज्ञाययति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम्. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots लृप्, भास् with आ and लृप् with वि, must be included in the rule; लृप्यति-विलसयति-आभासते-देवदत्तः, लृप्ययति-विज्ञाययति-आभासयति-देवदत्तम्.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह् 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. पुरुषो भारं नयति वहति वा A servant carries a load. पुरुषेन भारं नाह्वयति वाहयति वा (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart.—But चद्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रत्नं वहन्ति. Horses draw the chariot. वहन्ति वताद् बलीवर्दाः.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots खाद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमसि खादति वा. The boy eats his food. बटुनान्न-पादयति खादयति वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart.—(c). अद्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति पिंडीं देवदत्तः, भक्षयति पिंडीं देवदत्तेन; but भक्षयति पद्माद् बलीवर्दाः, भक्षयति बलीं पद्माद् यद्वाद्.

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, किंकरः पचरः पचति. Here पचति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकरं; but नावनासयति देवदत्तं.

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति.	रामं ग्रामं गच्छयति.	रामो ग्रामं गच्छते.
Rāma goes to a village.	(He) causes Rāma to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
दुत्यः कटं करोति.	दुत्येन दुत्यं वा कटं कारयति. दुत्यः कटं कार्यते.	
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्यते.	गोविंदं मासमासयति.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते.

Govind sits for one month. (He makes Govind sit &c.) Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa e. g. मासवक्तं चर्मां बोधयति 'he make Mananaka know his duty'; मासवक्तो चर्मां बोध्यते or मासवक्तं चर्मां बोध्यते 'M. is made known his duty' or duty is made known to M.'; बटुनादनं बोधयति 'he makes the boy eat food: 'बटुनादनं' बोध्यते or बटुनादनं बोध्यते (S. K.)

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वापनेन वसिं धनुर्वाधयते; (ईश्वरेण) वापनेन वसिं

बहुधां दाययति ' (God) makes Vāmana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपाज्जां नगरं हरति;
(स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन बाजां नगरं दारयति. '(The master) makes the cowherd take
the sheep to the town.'

हु क्रोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-क्रोः, अन्यतरस्याम्,
(का० अणि कर्ता स लौ कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेः करोतिद्वयन्तयोर्व्यः कर्ता च ययन्तयो रन्यतरस्यां कर्त्तृसंबो भवति ॥

वाचि कच् ॥ अग्निवादि ह्योरात्मनेपद उपसंख्यानच् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ni (primitive) form in the case of hri to lose and kri to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

ni (CAUSAL).

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

As हरति. भारं वाचयकः
The boy takes the load.

दारयति भारं वाचयकं or वाचयकेन.
He causes the servant to take the load.

करोतिकटं देवदत्तः
Devadatta makes the mat.

कारयति कटं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन.
He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

Vart.—The subject of the primitive verbs अग्निवद् and हुच् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or instrumental case in the causal; as,

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

अग्निवदति गुरुं वदत्तः
Devadatta bows down to the Guru. He makes Devadatta bow down to the
Guru.

पश्यन्ति दृष्ट्वा राजानम्.
The servants see the king.

दर्शयति दृष्ट्वा राजानं or दर्शयते दृष्ट्यै.
He makes the servants see the king

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता । (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धौ स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्ष्यते तत्कारकं कर्तृसंबं भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवदत्तः पचति Devadatta cooks. स्वासी पचति the pot cook

तत् प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च,
(का० स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको योऽर्थः तत्कारकं हेतुसंबन्धं भवति चकारात् कर्तृसंबन्धं च ॥

55. That which is the mover thereof, i. e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartâ or agent.

Thus कारयति he causes to be made, हारयति he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, viz., Hetu and kartâ; otherwise by sūtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

THE PARTICLES.

प्राग्ग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्, ग्रीश्वरात्, निपाताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिग्रीश्वर इति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मादवचेयानित ऊर्ध्वमनुकृतिः प्राग्ग्रीश्वरात् निपात संज्ञा स्ते चेदित्येषाः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhigrīśvaro (I. 4. 97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प्राग् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapra-vachniya take two names, i. e., their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter र in प्राग्ग्रीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, i. e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽसत्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आदयः असत्वे, (निपाता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेत्स्वरवे वर्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) च 'and' वा 'or' ह 'an expletive' क्व 'vocative particle' एव 'only' exactly. एवम् 'so thus,' नूनम् 'certainly,' अश्वत् 'continually,' पुनपत् 'at once,' अश्वत् 'repeatedly,' सुषत् कृषत् 'excellently,' कुवित् 'abundantly,' चेत् चेत् 'if' चत् 'if,' [the न् is indicatory], तत्र 'where,' तत्र 'there,' कश्चित् 'what if?,' नह 'no,' हत् 'ah,' ! नाकिम् [नाकीम्] नकिम् 'do not,' आकीम् 'indeed !' नाह् 'do not,' नत् 'not,' यावत् 'as much as,' यावत् 'so much,' एवै न्वै द्वै 'perhaps,' ऐ (disrespectful interjection) बीवद् बीषद्

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वधा 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers
 वषट् 'oblation to the gods,' ओम् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three
 great deities of the Hindu mythology), तुम् 'thouing,' तथाहि 'thus,' introduc-
 ing an exposition, (असु 'certainly,' किन्तु 'indeed,' अद्य 'now' auspicious
 inceptive), सुम् 'excellent,' स्म (attached to the present tense gives it a past
 signification), अहम् 'fie' अ इ उ ऋ लृ ए ऐ ओ औ. The vowels a, â, i, î, u, û,
 e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ
 from the ordinary vowels.

उञ्, उक्ञ्, वेलायास्, वानायास्, वधा. यत्, तत्, किम्, पुरा, वधा, (वध्वा), धिक्, दाहा,
 देहे, (हहे), पाट्, प्याट्, आहो, उताहो, हो, अहो, ने, (नौ), अयो, नमु, मन्वे, निदया, अवि, मुहि
 तु, तु, इति, इव, वत्, वात्, वन, वत, [वस्, वयस्, शिकस्, दिकस्,] सनुकस्, कन्वट्, (क्वन्ट),
 मंके, मुक्तस्, खस्, वनात्, सनुतत्, नहिकस्, सत्वस्, अतस्, अडा, इडा, नेचेत्, मचेत्, महि, जाड्,
 कयस्, कुतः, कुत्र, अय, अमु, हा, हे, (है), आहोसिवत्, श्वस्, कस्, खस्, दिष्टया, पशु, वट्, चह्,
 (अनुवट्), आनुवक्, अम्न, कट्, तावक्, (भावक), अये, अरे, वाट्, (वाट्), कुस्, लुस्, पुस्
 अय्, ईय्, बीय्, विय्, चिः, वै .

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality,
 the appearance of an upasarga (No.59), of a word with one of the termina-
 tions of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् avadat-
 tam 'given away,' the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word
 (by VII. 4. 47) would be अवत्तम् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंयुः
 'egotistic,' the ahañ is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a
 case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative
 case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example
 अस्तिक्षीरा astikshirā, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति
 must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with
 the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared
 as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता असत्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयो ऽसत्वे निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c, are called Nipāta when not
 signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अप, वस्, अमु,
 अय, निस्, दुस्, वि, आह्, नि, अपि, अपि, अति, दु, वस्, अन्ति, प्रति, परि, उय ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been
 included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names,
 namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances,
i. e., when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the च्छा
 &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipātas. As परा
 च्छास्ति वेवा the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे
(प्रादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयः क्रिया योगे उपसर्गं संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अचक्षुदस्य प्रोपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अचक्षुदस्योप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words *pra* &c., get the designation of *upasarga* or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As *प्र+नयति*=*प्रणयति*. Here the dental *न* is changed into cerebral *ण*, because of the *प्र* getting the designation of *upasarga* (See *sūtra* VIII. 4. 14). Similarly *परिणयति*, *प्रणायकः*, *परिणायकः*.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called *upasargas*. As *प्रनते नायकोऽस्माद् देशात्* = *प्रनायकोदेशः* a country destitute of a leader. Here *न* is not changed into *ण*. Thus while *प्रणायकः* means 'a leader' the term *प्रनायकः* means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—*pra* in one is an *upasarga*, in the other a *Nipāta* pure and simple.

Vart:—The word *नवत्* should be included in the list of *upasargas*. As *नवद्विर्वत्तः*=*नवत्तः* given by Marut. *नवत्+दा+क्त*=*नवत्+त्+त* (VII. 4. 47.) Here Marut being treated as an *upasarga*, though it does not end with a vowel, the *दा* is replaced by *त्* by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares 'त the substitute of *दा* which is called *ghu* when it is preceded by an *upasarga* that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with *त्* which has an indicative *k*.'

It might be objected, that as *नवत्* does not end with a vowel, *sūtra* VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of *upasarga* to *नवत्* is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel, is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle *नवत्* should be included in the list of *upasargas*. Thus *नवत्+धा+खद्*=*नव्हा* (III. 3. 106). Here because *नवत्* is treated as an *upasarga*, that *sūtra* III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, च, (प्रादयः क्रियायोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्रादयो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कारिका यन्दीप संख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनवी चन्दश्च गतिसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words *pra* &c., are called also *Gati*, when in composition with a verb.

As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the क्त्वा is replaced by कृत्वा see II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प्र+कृ+कृत्वा=प्रकृत्य (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृत्य. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root to which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudātta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71,

The yoga-vibhāga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvṛtti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणीतम् and अभिषिक्तम्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and ष into ण and ष by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and कृत्वा (VII. 1. 37) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart.—The words पुनर् and चनम् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनर्वत्सूतवाचो देयम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes वत्सूत to take annudātta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनेदितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

ऊर्यादि च्विडाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरी-आदि च्वि-डाचः,
च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्यादयः शब्दाः च्विडाचश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kri or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अच् (V. 4. 50 and 57) ūri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The words करी and कररी mean to assent and spread. As करीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) करीकृत्य (VI. 2. 49), यद्वरीकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word कररी. The following is a list of these words :—

वापी.	पूषी.	भंगकला.	कली.
वाली.	यकला.	गुलुगुभा.	विह्वी.
आवाली.	संगकला.	चक्रः.	आह्वी.
वेवाली.	ध्वंसकला.	कलः.	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in हाच् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं चानिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च;
अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणचानिति परम् क्रियायोगे गतिसंबन्धो भवति ॥

32. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrihi compound; अन्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it'

As खाट्कृत्य having made the sound khât. खाट्कृत्य (VI. 2. 49), यत्खाट्-करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाडितिकृत्वा निरुद्धीव-

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः,
सद्-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदरानादरयोः अनादरसदसती गतिसंबन्धो भवति ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As वदकृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) असदकृत्य, वदकृत्य, or असदकृत्य (VI. 2. 49) यद् वद करोति or वदचद् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe
 चतुर्वृत्त्या कायं गतः .

भूषणेऽलम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे, अलम्, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे वे० अलम् शब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलंकृतं (VI. 2. 49) बदलं करोति (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिग्रहे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर-अपरि-ग्रहे, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिग्रहे ऽर्थगतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्या द्विविधि शब्देष्टूपसर्गसंज्ञावृत्तव्या ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्हृत्य गृहं गतः he went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्हृतमनृतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्तर्हन्ति.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हृत्वा भूयिकां हयेनेगतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart.—The word अन्तर is treated as an upsarga for the purpose of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अङ् is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which क्रि is added; the rule VIII. 4. 14 by which न is changed into च. As अन्तर्हर्ता, अन्तर्हर्तिः and अन्तर्हर्षति.

कणोमनसी अद्वाप्रतीयाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी, अद्वा-प्रती-याते, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दो मनस्यशब्दश्च अद्वा प्रतीयाते गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

66. The words kane and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of reaction by satiation.'

The word **बद्धा-प्रतीवात** means 'satisfaction of desire.' As **कषेहस्य चयः पिबति** he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also **ननोहस्य चयः पिबति**. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (**बद्धा**) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have **क्षये** or **ननोहत्वान्तः** he went away satisfied

पुरो ऽथयम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः, अव्ययम्, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षिप्रत्ययान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

67. The word **purah** in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called **gati**.

The pronoun **पुरं** 'front' with the affix **अक्षि** forms **पुरस्**, and by I. 1. 38 it becomes an **Avyaya**. (See V. 3. 39 **pur** being substituted for **pūrva**). The object by making it **gati** is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the **h** into **स्** by VIII. 3. 40. As **पुरस्कृत्य**, **पुरस्कृत्य** and **यत् पुरस्करोति**, when not an indeclinable we have **पुः**, **पुरी**, **पुरः कृत्वा** कायदन्तः.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम्, च, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो नकाराब्दोऽव्ययं अनुपलभ्यो वर्तते च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word **astam** 'at home,' is called **gati**, when in composition with a verb.

The word **अस्तम्** is an indeclinable as it ends in **च** (I. 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As **अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति** the sun having set, rises again **अस्तंगतानि वनानि** riches that have vanished. **यदस्तं गच्छति**, when not an indeclinable it is not **gati** as **अस्तं काण्डम्** the arrow has been thrown.

अच्छ गत्यर्थ्यवेषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ, गति-अर्थ-वेषु, (गतिः अथयम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छशब्दोऽव्ययमभिप्रत्ययार्थे वर्तते, च गत्यर्थ्यं धातुषु बदती च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word **achehha**, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called **gati**, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word **अच्छ** is an indeclinable and has the force of the word **अभि**. As **अच्छगत्य**, **अच्छगत्य**, and **यदच्छगच्छति**. So also **अच्छोद्गच्छति** and **यदच्छगच्छति** when not an **Avyaya**, we have **उदकनच्छं गच्छति**.

अदो ऽनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, अनुपदेशे, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदः शब्दो ऽनुपदेशे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृत्य and यददः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अदः कृत्या कायर्धं गतः

तिरोऽन्तरद्वौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तर्द्वौ, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्वौर्व्यवधानम्, तत्रतिरः शब्दे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय, तिरोभूतम् and यत् तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i.e., standing apart.

विभाषाकृजि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृजि, (गतिः अन्तर्द्वौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोती परतो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into वृ is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृजि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजेऽन्वाजेऽशब्दौ विभक्ति प्रत्यययो निपातौ दुर्बलस्य सामर्थ्याभावे वर्तते तौ कृजि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

73. The words upāje and anvāje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनिच ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभृतीनि, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि कृजि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु ऋषयश्च वचनम् ॥

74. The words sākshāt, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vart :—In the words साक्षाद् &c. the force of the affix चिच् is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before, As साक्षाद् कृत्य or कृत्वा निव्याकृत्ये निव्याकृत्वा making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसि मनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने, उरसि-
मनसी, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनत्याधान उपरलोपसं वदभावे अनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दौ विभाषा कृञि-
गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kri follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा; मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे निवचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे, निवचने,
च, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा, अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृञि गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा. पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा; निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have इस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाशावुपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, हस्ते-पाशौ
उपयमने (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्ते पाशौ इत्येते शब्दौ कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञौ भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word haste 'in the hand,' pāṇau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाशौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः he went out having taken in his hand a kārshāpana (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः कृजि नित्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वमिति सकारान्तनव्ययेनानुकूल्ये वर्तते, तदानुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकां यदा भवति तदाप्राध्वंशब्दः कृजि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word prādhvam followed by the verb kri, is always called gati when used in the sense of 'binding.'

The word प्राध्वम् ends in व् and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, प्राध्वंकृत्य having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—प्राध्वं कृत्वा शकटं गतः having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषदौ, औपम्ये, (गतिः कृजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येतौ शब्दौ औपम्ये विषये कृजि गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

79. The words Jivikā and upanishad followed by the verb kri are called gati when used in the sense 'of likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य having made it as if it was a means of living; उपनिषत्-कृत्य—having made it like an upanishad. But जीविका कृत्वा गतः having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते आग्धातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंबन्धाः धातोः प्राक् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are pre-fices).

The word ते has been employed to include the term उपसर्ग also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः उपसर्गं प्राग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्गं संबन्धाः परेऽपि पूर्वेषु प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root as well as before it.

As.—वाचविष्मद्वा सुश्रुत आवातुपनिष्कृतम् ॥ नखित्वा भिया नरा (Rig. I. 2. 6).

In this we have आवातवुप instead of उवायतस् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

अवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवहिताः, च, (ग० उ० छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवहिताश्च गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इन्द्र वायु इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतस् ॥ इन्द्रो वा सुयन्विहि (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vāyu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उप is separated from the word आगत by the intervening word प्रयोभिः.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित कर्तुमनुक्रमिष्यामः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता well praised by you. उ वित्तं भवता you have sprinkled. - Here उ is a karma pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the स् into च (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, टि, पि, उ &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

अनुर्लक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्यदो लक्षणे दोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of, or being indicated by.' As अपननु मावर्षत it rained

after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapravachanīya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also वाक्कलस्य संहिताननु प्रावर्षत् = वाक्कलेन हुक्तां संहिताननु नियम्य देवः प्रावर्षत्. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a karmapravachanīya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहिता is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनियम्य understood.

So also अननुद् पवनम्बविंचत्. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, अननुदपयम्बविंचत् प्रजाः the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been called karma pravachanīya even by force of sūtra 90 following, where also the word lakshana occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karma-pravachanīyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8. of the same by the maxim of परत्वं I. 3. 2: and would have caused a karmapravachanīya to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

तृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुग्रहदस्तृतीयार्थे दोत्ये कर्मवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

85. The word anu is karma-pravachanīya when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As नदीननु अवसिता देना the army lying along side the river. पर्वतननु अवसिता देना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हीने दोत्येऽप्यनुः कर्म प्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

86. The word anu is karma-pravachanīya when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word हीन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुयायकाद्यन्यैवाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशब्दः अधिके हीने च दोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

87. The word *upa* when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is *karma-pravachaniya*.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as *उप खारी द्रोणः* a *Drona* is above a *khâri*. *उप निष्के कार्षापणः* a *karshapana* is more than a *Nishka*. In this sense *उप* governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also *उप शाकटायनं वैवाकरिणाः* 'all grammarians are inferior to Śakatâyana.' In this sense *उप* governs the accusative case.

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दो वर्जनेदोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

88. The words *apa* and *pari* are *karma-pravachaniya* when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of *अप* and *परि* is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As *अपत्रिगर्तभ्यो बृहो देवः* it rained outside of or with the exception of *Trigarta*. So also *परि त्रिगर्तभ्यो बृहो देवः*. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not *karma-pravachaniya*. As *ओदनं परिषिञ्चति*. He waters the rice. Here it is an *upasarga*, and hence changes the *व* into *च*.

आङ् नर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, नर्यादा-वचः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येषशब्दः नर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

89. The word *ân* as far as, is *karma-pravachaniya* when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word *वचन* in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As *आपाटलिपुत्राद् बृहो देवः* it rained as far as (but excluding) *Pâtaliputra* *आपाटलिपुत्रं बृहो देवः* it rained as far as (including) *Pâtaliputra* *आकुमारं ययः पाणिनेः* आसंकाश्यात्, *अनशुरायाः* when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीणसासुप्रति पयनवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥

लक्षण-इत्थम्भूताख्यान-भाग-वीणसासु, प्रति-परि-अनवः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्थम्भूताख्याने भागे वीणसायां च विषयभूतायां प्रति परि अत्र इत्येते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति-परि or अन्नु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति-परि=अन्नु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरं प्रति हलाहलं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यदन्नमां प्रति स्यात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अन्नु. (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विक्षति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अन्नु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्ष्य इत्यं-भूताख्या० कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणादिभ्येव भागवर्जितेऽभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mūtandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (4). As वृक्षमभि विद्योतते; मातरमभि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग is meant. भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदन्नमामभि स्यात् तद् दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore च of स्व is changed into च.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधि प्रतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिः, प्रतिः निधि-प्रतिदानयोः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रतिदाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As अभिनन्द्युत्तु नतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषान्मै तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति he exchanges Māshās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11.)

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी यद्वद् अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तरवाचिनौ कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञा भवतः ॥

93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽभ्यागच्छति whence has he come? or कुतः पर्या गच्छति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु शब्दः पूजायाचये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुचिक्तं भवता, सु स्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the च into च (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुचिक्तं किं तद्युगम has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिक्रमयोच ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमयो, च, (कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति शब्दः अतिक्रमये चकारात् पूजायांच कर्म प्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachaniya.

The word अतिक्रमय means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाच from the last. As अतिसिक्तमेवा भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमिव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति चिक्तं भवता.

अपिः पदार्थ संभावनाऽववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥

अपिः, पदार्थ-संभावना-अववसर्ग-गर्हा-समुच्चयेषु (कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थ संभावने ऽववसर्ग गर्हायां समुच्चये च वर्तमानः अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As चर्दिषेऽपि ह्यात् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुनोऽपि ह्यात्. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' mâtṛā 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचेत् मूलकसहस्रं श्येनेकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अपि स्तुयाद् राजानं he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्वयर्ण means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिंच you may sprinkle if you like. अपि स्तुहि you may praise if you like. The word गर्हा means censure, contempt or reproof. As विगृह्णास्मि देवदत्तमपि सिंचेत् पलायकुम्भः. The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the च into ष.

अधिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी यच्च स्वमपेक्षतः । तदयं स्वस्वानि संवन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

97. The word adhi is karmapravachaniya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometimes locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अपि ब्रह्म दत्ते पंचालाः or अपि पंचालेषु ब्रह्म दत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchâlas.

विभाषा कृजि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृजि कर्मप्र० अधिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिः करोती विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb kri follows.

As यदत्र जानधि करिष्यति. Here the word अपि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लादेशाः परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ल are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ल.' The word लादेश 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ल is a generic word for verb in general, viz., लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ्, लृङ्. The substitutes of ल are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

PARASMAIPADA.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers. निप्	वच्	वच्	वच्
2nd Pers. सिप्	यच्	यच्	य
3rd Pers. तिप्	तच्	तच्	क्ति

And the affixes वट् and कट् (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

तडानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तङ्-आनौ आत्मनेपदम्,
(लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु परस्मै पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायां तडानवात्मात्मनेपदसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyāhara tañ and the two ending in āna (Sānach and Kānach), which are substitutes of ल are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st इट्	वहि	वहि	वहिङ्
2nd याच्	आयाच्	आयाच्	ध्वच्
3rd त	आताच्	आताच्	क्

And the affixes याच् and कानच् (III. 2. 106)

तिङ्स्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥
तिङः, त्रीणि, त्रीणि, प्रथम, मध्यम, उत्तमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङोऽष्टादश प्रत्ययाः नव परस्मैपद संज्ञकाः नवात्मनेपदसंज्ञकाः सत्रपरस्मैपदेव त्र्यसिक्तकाः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति । आत्मनेपदेऽपि त्रयास्त्रिक्तकाः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name tiñ, a pratyāhāra formed of the first and last of them, *viz.*, tip and mahiñ) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar,) the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given ; 9 are Parasmaipadī and 9 are Atmanepadī. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तानि ,
एकवचन-द्विवचन-बहुवचनानि एकशः , (त्रीणि २) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः त्रैकैकं पदम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the names of Lowest &c, are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular) "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, *viz.*, singular, dual, and plural.

सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, (त्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनानि एकशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपश्च त्रीणि त्रीणि पदानि एकश एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyāhāra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः, च, (त्रीणि २ सुपः तिङ्;) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रीणि त्रीणि विभक्ति संज्ञाश्च भवन्ति सुपरितुष्टम् ॥

104. The traids of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सहस्री विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि सध्यमः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदि, उपपदे, समान-अधिकरणे, स्थानिनि, अपि, सध्यमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्युपपदे सति व्यवहिते चाव्यवहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिधेये तुल्यकारणे स्थानिनि प्रयुज्यमानेऽप्यप्रयुज्यमानेऽपि सध्यम पुरुषो भवति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As त्वं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; यूयं पचथः or पचथः you two are cooking; यूयं पचथ or पचथ you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहासे, च, मन्य-उपपदे, मन्यतेः, उत्तमः, एकवत्, च, (मध्यमः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहासे मन्यमाने मन्योपपदे धातो र्मन्यस्यपुरुषो भवति, मन्यतेरुत्तमः च चैव भवति ॥

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.

The word प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये ओदनं भोजयसे इति; नहि भोजयसे, मुक्तः सोऽतिथिनिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. यदि मन्ये रवेन यास्यसि नहि यास्यसि, यातस्तेन ते पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, यदि मन्यसे ओदनं भोजये. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मद्युत्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे सना-
नाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदुपपदे सनानाभिधेये प्रयुज्यमाने व्यप्रयुज्यमाने ऽपि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-आवां पचावः or merely पचावः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ वन्न युष्मदस्मदी सनानाधिकरणे उपपदेन स्तः तत्रशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पचति he cooks, पचतः they cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः
संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो यः संनिकर्षो वर्णानां नर्द्धमात्राकालव्यवधानं च संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a mâtâ or prosodial length between them, is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As ददुपन्न = दधि + अन्न.

विरामो ऽवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विरति विरामः । विरन्यते ऽनेनेति वा विरामः । वेऽवसानमस्येति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 15 &c.



ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः , पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम् , यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः श्रूयते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhāṣhā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाञ्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मुख भाव).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words अतः , अतीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;' as, कष्टं अतः = कष्टातः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, अतो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and अतः though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word अर्थ 'wealth,' as, शंकुलया + खण्डः = शंकुलखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुलया, खण्डो देवदत्त इपत्ने 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words अर्थ, बलि &c.'

Thus यूपाय + दारु = यूपदारु 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं यूपाय, दारु देवदत्तस्य गृहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकोभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकोभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not समर्थ, there is no composition: as भाट्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled,' as, अक्षेपु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, अक्षेपस्वमक्षेपु, शौण्डः पिबति पानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यप्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अशान = इध्याशान. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु दध्यशानं त्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छन्नं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छन्न, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुबानन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आसन्त्रिते,
पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तमामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरज्जने कर्तव्ये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the āṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning *i.e.*, first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पती 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो ब्रवन् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे नाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशना वृधन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणां राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्यो पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्यो 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an āṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्यः 'Gārgya is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डे नाटन् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अटन् .

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udātta.

Why do we say 'as if or वत्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudātta when it follows the word आम् there intervening a word between itself and आम्; as, आम् कुण्डे नाटन्! Here kundaṇa is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between आम् and the vocative word अटन् .

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कूपे सिंचन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्म नमन्. Here had कूपे and चर्म been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their स and न would have been changed into ष and ण respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart :—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीचन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्णेन परशूना वृधन् .

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As रुच्यैरधीयान 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरधीयान .

प्राक्कडारात्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्,
समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍa-rakarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word **यथा** when not meaning like unto.' Here the word **समास** must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word **prāk** is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of **समास** to various technical terms like **अन्यधीभाव** &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of **समास**.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह, सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुपेति च त्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् यदित ऊर्ध्वं मनुक्रमिष्याम स्तत्रेह सुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words 'saha supâ' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word **सुप्** is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words *viz.* **सुप्, सह, सुपा**. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word **सह**? Well, without it the sūtra would have stood thus: **सुप् सुपा** 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word **सह** is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

(1). **सह, सुप्, समस्यते समर्थेन** 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word **सह** with the help of the three words **सुप्** taken from sūtra 2, **समस्यते** from sūtra 3, and **समर्थेन** from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like **अनुव्यञ्जनं अनुशङ्कत**. The accent will depend upon these being considered as **samāsa**.

(2). **सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते** a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, **पुनरुत्सृतं वासो देवं पुनर्निष्ठतो स्थः**. This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानि त ऊद्धर्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽव्ययीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayībhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayībhāva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like दि , धि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayībhāva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसम्बृद्धिव्युद्गृह्यार्थाभावात्प्रत्ययसम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययोगपट्टासादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-सम्बृद्धि-व्युद्गृहि-अर्थाभाव-अत्यय-असंप्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-योगपट्टा-सादृश्य-सम्प्रति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा
अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वर्तते तत् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभाव-
श्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

The words सुप and सुपा are understood in this sūtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्तते 'a story relating to women.'
अधिकुमारि 'relating to a girl.'
2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'
3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'
4. व्युद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवाहिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas,' दुर्गवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.'
5. अभाववचन;—As निर्भक्षिकम् 'free from flies,' निर्भगकं 'free from mosquitoes.'
6. अत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
निःशीतं .
7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसृकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'
8. शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे
इति हरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').
9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरथं पादातम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'
10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. corres-
pondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and
likeness; thus (1) अनुकूपम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according
to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's
ability.'
11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter
in the order of seniority.'
12. योगपथवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'
13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'
14. संपत्तिवचन;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.'
15. साकल्यवचन;—As सद्यम् 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
not leaving even a scrap.
16. अन्तवचन;—As साम्नि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा , असादृश्ये , (समर्थः सुप्
सुपा अभ्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेतेष्वेतद्व्ययमसादृश्ये वर्तमानं सुपा सह समसयने, ऽव्य-०भावश्च समासो भवति॥

7. The indeclinable word yathâ when it does
not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an Avyayībhāva Samāsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व invite every old Brahmana. So also यथाभ्यापकम् .

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथादेवदत्तस्तथा यज्ञदत्तः As is Deva-datta so is Yajñadatta.

This samāsa could have been included in the last sūtra clause 10, but making a separate sūtra shows that the word यथार्थवचन there, must be limited by the present sūtra, to first three meanings of the word यथा given there and not to its fourth meaning. *vis.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावदवधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (संशुपा
अवयवभासनास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्विषयेतदवयववधारणे वर्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते अवयवीभावश्च
समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word yāvat when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद् मत्रं ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व 'invite so many Brāhmanās only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmanas ;if six pots, then invite six Brāhmanas.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदन्नं तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे,
(अवयवभासनासह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुबन्तं समस्यते अवयवीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayībhāva.

The word **नात्रा** means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit,' as, **शाकप्रति** 'a little of vegetable,' **सूपप्रति** 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe **वृक्षं प्रति विधीयते विद्युत्** 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word **sup** was, by *anuvritti* from *sūtra* 2, understood in this *sūtra*, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the *anuvritti* of the word **अव्यय** which began with *sūtra* 6 does not extend further into the subsequent *sūtras*.

The word **प्रतिना** being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an *upasarjana* (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा , (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words **aksha**, 'a die for' playing with,' **salâkâ** 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and **sañkshyâ** 'numerals' are compounded with the word **pari**, and the compound formed is called **Avyayîbhâva**.

This **समास** is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called **panchikâ** which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus **अक्षपरि** 'an unlucky throw of dice.' **शलाकापरि**, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also **एकपरि** 'an unlucky throw by one over' **द्विपरि**, **त्रिपरि** and lastly **चतुष्परि**. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्विहित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word **vibhâshâ** or option governs all succeeding *sūtras*.

This is an *adhikâra sūtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like **सुमद्रं**, **यथावृद्धं**, **अक्षपरि** &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (**नित्य समास**), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अपपरिवहिरञ्चः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-वहिः-
अञ्चः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ० सह० वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परि वहिस् अञ्च इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अव्ययी-
भावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayîbhâva*.

As अत्रिगर्तम् वृष्टो देवः or अत्रिगर्तंभ्यो वृष्टो देवः 'it rained away from Trigarta. So also, परित्रिगर्तम् or परित्रिगर्तंभ्यः 'round about Trigarta,' वहिर्ग्रामम् or वहिर्ग्रामात् 'outside the village' प्राग् ग्रामम् or प्राग् ग्रामात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अञ्चु 'to go,' are उदञ्च 'north' प्राञ्च 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (jñāpak) that the word वहिः also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-अभि-
विध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङित्येतन्मर्यादायामभिविधौ च वर्त्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते,
अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word *ân* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called *Avyayîbhâva*.

As, आपाटलिपुत्रं or आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः 'it rained up to Pāṭaliputra.' आकुमारं or आकुमारंभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभि-
प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिन्हं तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीशब्दावाभिमुख्ये वर्त्तमानौ विभाषा
समस्येते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word lakshana means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्नि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakshana'? Observe लुप्यं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अभ्यङ्गा गावः or प्रत्यङ्गागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स०वि०अ०-स० लक्षणनेन) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayîbhâva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायामः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयामः, (स०-अ०वि०स० लक्षणनेन अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुगंगं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe वृत्तमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् .

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ;
च (अव्ययीभावसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्गुवाक्यः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययी-
भावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words *tishṭhādgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayībhāva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayībhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of *च* in the *sūtra* is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayībhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु, वहद्गु, आयतीगवम्, खलेयवम्, खलेबुसम्, लूनयवम्, लूयमान-
यवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रियमाणयवम्, संहृतबुसम्, संह्रियमाण-
बुसम्, समभूति, समपदाति, सुषमम्, विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, भाय-
तीसमम्, ग्राह्यम्, प्ररथम्, प्रमृगम्, प्रवक्षिणम्, अवरदक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति,
पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. e. g. कचाकचि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्यं, षष्ठ्या,
वा (स०अ०वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayībhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present *sūtra* ordains *Avyayībhāva* instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारंगंगम् or गंगापरम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगंगम् or गंगमध्येम् 'middle of the Ganges'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. I. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गंगायाः or मध्यं गंगायाः .

संख्या वंशयेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंशयेन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशो भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुवन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patañjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patañjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case : as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम्

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhāradwājas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनैः शब्दैः सह संख्या समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patañjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहारः); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, पञ्चनदं 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च, संज्ञा-याम्, (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुवन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्त्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayibhâva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyâ does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samâsa rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा: 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also लोहितगङ्गम्, कृष्णगङ्गम्; शनैर्गङ्गम् II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णवेणुः the 'river Krishnaveṇu.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रोगङ्गो देशः 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञाधिक्रियते प्राग्बह्व्रोहे, यानित ऊर्द्ध्वननुक्रान्त्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word Tat-purusha is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sūtras.

From this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 relating to Bahuvrîhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pāṇini, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-purusha compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karma-dhâraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sūtras of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra; as sūtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचराज V. 4. 91 fem. पंचराजो (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्वयः 'V. 4. 89, पंचगवम् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तपन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सु०सुपा०स०वि०चह-तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिषुगमिगाम्यादीनां मुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atīta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रितः, So also:—कान्तारातीतः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः 'gone to village.' तरंगारवस्तः 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखान्नः 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart.:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; ओदम् मुमुक्षुः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (स०वि०त०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धौतौ पदौ 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाङ्गम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in *kta* which is a *Nishṭhā* affix, are past participles.

खद्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खद्वा, क्षेपे, (संवि०त०कनस०)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खद्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः कान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word *khatwā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *क्षप* means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a *Nitya Compound*, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to *Optional Compounds*:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As *खद्मारूढः* or *खद्वाहुतः* (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As *खद्वामारूढः* 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the *Āryan* social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his *Brahmachārya* i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All *Brahmachāris* were bound to sleep on ground and not on *खद्वा* or cots, so long as they were *Brahmachāris*. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, *खद्मारूढः* 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (संवि०त०सह क्तेन)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ 'सामीत्येतद्व्ययमर्द्धशब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सन्धवाचित्वाद् द्वितीयया नास्ति संवन्धः तत्पुरुषवन्तं कान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word *sāmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *सामि* being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the *anuvṛtti* of the word *द्वितीया* would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As *सामिकृतम्* 'half-done,' *सामिरीतम्* 'half-drunk' *सामिभुक्तम्* 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this *saṃāsa* is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (संवि० त० सं० द्वितीययाक्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः कान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word *कालाः* does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by *Sūtra* I. 1. 68, the word-form *काल* but special words denoting *काल*.

As *मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमाः* 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly *अहस्संक्रान्ताः*, *रात्रिसंक्रान्ताः* applied to six *Muhurtas* (of 48 minutes each) which are called *चर* and *अचर* which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (संवि० त० सं० कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वरानकन्याणी, सर्वरानशोभना.

तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (संवि०त०सु०सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुबन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थवचनेन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुग are understood here: and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शंकुज्याखण्डः शंकुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' क्रिरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case'? Observe अङ्गा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अङ्गा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality'? Observe :—गोभिर्वपावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guṇa-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyā, or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥

पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्णैः, (संवि०त०तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वोद्विष्ववरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pūrva* 'prior,' *sadriśa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *ūnārtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipuna* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *slakshya* 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this *sūtra*, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माशोनम्, माषविकलं 'less by a māśā,' भासिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' बाक्कलहः 'bandying words,' वाङ्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' तिलनिभः—गुडनिभः 'mixed with sesamum 'or juggery' आचारस्लक्ष्यः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The word *अवर* should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम् , (२०वि०त०तृती०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृ करणे च या तृतीया सदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *kṛit* affix; and the compound so formed is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word *बहुलं* shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As *अहिनाहतः* = *अहितः* 'killed by the snake' *नखनिर्भिजः* 'divided by the nails,' *परशुच्छिन्नः* 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe *निशानिरुषितः* 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in *sūtra* II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe *शस्त्रेण जूनवान्* 'cutting with the sickle.' *परशुनाच्छिन्नवान्* 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought 'not to be, because of the word *बहुलः*—as *पाशहारकः* and *गजो चोपकः*.

कृत्परिधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, अधिक-अर्थ-वचने,
(संवि०त०कर्तृकरणे०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्यां तृतीया तद्धन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह सम्स्यते अधिकार्थवचने
गन्धमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्प्यतोर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेयानदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वलेहः कूपः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). वाष्पच्छेद्यानि दृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचेय ओदनः.

This sūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and एयत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तद्य, अनीय, यत्, क्यप्, एयत्, (see sūtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तद्य as in काकैः पातद्या.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (संवि०त०-
त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि तृतीयान्तमन्त्रवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह सम्स्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as दध्मोदनः = दध्मा उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरोदनः. The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण , मिश्री-करणम्
(संवि०त०तृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिश्रीकरणवाचि द्वितीयान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य ; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणं . As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with jaggery,' गुडपृथुकाः 'flattened parched rice prepared with jaggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी , तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (संवि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थं अर्थं बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतैः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन नित्यसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप , सुपा are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थं 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपाय दारुः = यूपदारुः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्ध्रनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' अवहननाथोलूखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies ; as, ब्राह्मणार्थं पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans ;' and ब्राह्मणार्थां यवाणूः 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुवेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' अश्वहितं 'what is good for horses' गौमुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी , भयेन , (स०त०वि०सु०
सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भयं भीतं भीतिं भीति रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As वृको-योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चौरभयं 'fear from thieves' हस्त्यभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः , वृकभीतिः , वृकभीः .

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 32 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधनं जुगुप्सुः .

अपेतापोदमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-
अपोद-मुक्त-रतित-अपत्रस्तैः , अल्पशः , (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपेत अपोद मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येतैः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥ अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apodha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोदः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word अन्त्या: 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—
 प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. भोजनादपन्नतः 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-
 अन्तिक-दूर-अर्थ-कृच्छ्राणि, क्तेन, (सप्तविंशोऽपञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अन्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह
 समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तसहस्री परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dūra 'far,' and also the word krichchhra 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकान् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अन्त्यादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रदुःखादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः saved with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words शत 'a hundred' and सहस्र 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word पर. As, शतात्परे=परशशताः 'beyond a hundred.' So also परसहस्राः 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word शत and सहस्र being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजदन्त &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment स (सुद्) interposed between these two words.

सप्तमी शौण्डेः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शौण्डेः (सप्त-
 विंशोऽपञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śaunda 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word शौण्डे: in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with saupḍa.

As, अक्षेण शौण्डः = अभशौण्डः 'skilled in dice' अक्षधूर्तः 'cunning in dice' अक्षकितवः 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर् when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पटु, (or अधिपटु), 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड, 15 मन्द, and 16 समीर.

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धे,
च, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व बन्धे इत्येतैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांक्रान्तसिद्धः 'perfect in sânkâsya.' काम्पिन्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Kâmpilya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' छायाशुष्कः 'dried in the shade.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' कुम्भी पक्वः 'cooked in an earthen jar.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बहुल in sūtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (स०त०वि०-
सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गन्धमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvāṅksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थधांक्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, तीर्थधांक्ष-
स्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ऋणे, (स०त०-
सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix यत् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहरेयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word कर्ण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरह्येयोऽनुशाक्तः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया निष्ठा 'the aims that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०स०म०नी
सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samāsa.

A sanjñā is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येमाषाः, वने किंशुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वने बिल्वकाः, कूपे पिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sūtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः,
(स०वि०त०स०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहरवयवा रात्र्यवयवाश्च सप्तम्यन्ताः कान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्नकृतम् 'done in the afternoon.' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपररात्रकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संध्यागर्जितं .

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र , (सञ्चितसप्तसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतम् 'done there.' तत्रपीतम् 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे , (सञ्चितसप्तसह क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अत्रततेनकुजस्थितं त एतत् 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसंमितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे, संमित-आदयः, च,
(स०त०क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, पात्रेसंमितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udatta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूरकच्छाः, 7 अवटकच्छाः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदधानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डिशूरः, 15 पितृशूरः, 16 गेहेशूरः, 17 गेहनर्षीः, 18 गेहेद्वेडी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेसाही, 23 गेहेद्वारः, 24 गेहेद्वारः, 25 गर्भेद्वारः, 26 आलनेरुवकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेद्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेद्वारः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेन्द्रिरिरी, 34 कर्णेचुचुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन,
(स०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवल इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pūrvakāla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purāṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुर् सुप्त is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a-common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pūrvakāla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates ; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, ज्ञातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed.' कुटसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' दग्धमरुद्धम् 'burnt and healed.' एकशायी 'having one petticoat.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods.' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्वस्ती 'old elephant.' जरद्वृष्टिः 'an old cow.' जरद्वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice.' पुराणान्नसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम् ; नवान्नसथम् ; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः शायी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-संख्ये , संज्ञायाम् ,
(स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन युज्यन्ते सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समानासी भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyâ) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśamī-in-the-east.' अपरेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśamī-in-the-west.' पंचाननाः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees.' पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद
समाहारे , च (स०त०वि०दिक्संख्ये स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थं विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन युगा सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समानासी भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + भ (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशाल. (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 143) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्वशालाप्रियः or अग्रशालाप्रियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पञ्चवर्णपिते: 'relating to five barbers,' पञ्चकपालः 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पञ्चगव्यम् (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' द्वागवधनः

The following are examples of aggregates:—पञ्चफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपुत्री 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds,' पञ्चकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins;' this word is neuter by II. 4. 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (संवि-
तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र नः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix भृच् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावमियः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावरुण्यम् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + इच् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचपुत्री. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ,
(सविंशतिसुसहस्रं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवाचीनि स्यन्तानि कुत्सनवचनैः सुवन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च सवासो भवति ॥

53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचि; 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरण 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedanga,) nor the person who studies it i. e., the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus:—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसूचि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खसूचयति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसूचिः .

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणश्चोरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: याज्ञिकिकितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' नीमांसक बुद्धरुडः 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोन्नाग्रः 'the bad Brâhmaṇa' &c.

पापणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कुत्सितैः ,
(स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and anaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अनक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) ; by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलालः 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि , सामान्य-
वचनैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna' and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus वनश्याम कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्वेनी 'lily-white.' हंसगग्दा 'Swan-sounding' न्यग्रोध-पारिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadatta' or फला इव तन्मुलाः 'the rice are like fruits' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

उपनिमित्तं व्याघ्र दिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपनिमित्तम्,
व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स० त० वि० सु० स० उपमानानि स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपनेयमुपनिमित्तं तद्वाचि सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याद् उपमानवचनैः सह समस्यो,
तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवाचि शब्दः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपनिमित्त and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमलम्, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. कृल = A bear. 4. कृषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull.
8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. वृक्ष = A tree.
11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. हरु = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखपद्मम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake,' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कर्त्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीजमुरालं or नीलोत्पलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (संततविंसुसंतमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर द्रव्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-आदयः, कृत-
आदिभिः, (सत्तत्त्वविमुक्तसमान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेण्यादयः सुबन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, सत्पुरुषश्च समानो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रेण्यादिषु व्यर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words *śreṇī* 'class' &c., are compounded with words *kṛita* 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The words *श्रेणि* &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix *चि* (chvi). Thus *अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः* = *श्रेणिकृताः* 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called *कृतादि* are *ākṛiti-gaṇa* and cannot be known a priori. This *Samāsa* is also an invariable *Samāsa* by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in *chvi* (चि) are called *gati* (I. 4. 61.)

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or ऊक. 3. पृग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन्द = Name of Krishna or कुन्द. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. श्रमण = Sraman or श्रवण. 15. वदन्त्य = Liberal minded. 16. अभ्यायक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brāhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. चपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मत = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. भूत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समान्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined. 11. संसेवित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. अवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. हलित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उवाचुत = Said, uttered. 21. विश्रुत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन,
अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानाधिकारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञेव विद्येयो यस्य सर्वमन्वत् प्रकृत्यधिकं तुल्यं तन्नञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन
अनञेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिव्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्तभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीतापीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितानुदेतं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the इ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्षिष्टाक्षिशितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

भाकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. भराप्रव्यागत. 5. बातानुबात.
6. कयाकयिका. 7. पुत्रापुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कुतपसोभुत. 3. अजातोल्बलि.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-
परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते. तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man,' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person,' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गौः कर्दमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाग कुञ्जर इत्येतैः सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुब्रन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāraka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow,' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुञ्जरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुसीमोनागः 'the serpent Susīma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिग्रहे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिग्रहे वर्तमानौ समर्थेन युया सह समस्यते नन्यपुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकठः and कतरकालापः 'which of the two is kaṭha. and which kālāpa?' कतमकठः and कतमकालापः 'which of these is kaṭha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिग्रह in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase.

in the aphorism shows that the word कतम has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कतरो भवतोद्देवत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कतमो भवतां देवत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम् : क्षेपे , (स०त०स०समानाधि-
करणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमिच्छेतत् क्षेपे गन्वमाने सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्वेष्टति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix इच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, महाराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयशृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बश्कयणीप्रवक्त्र्या
पक्षधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-शृष्टि-
वशा-वेहद्-बश्कयणी-प्रवक्त्र-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः , जातिः , (स०सह०
वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potā 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grīṣṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow,' vaśā 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇī 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' adhyāpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इमंशो 'a young female elephant' इमंशुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्फोकः 'a little fire' उदशिवत् क तपयन् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहन्, गोवस्कपली, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kaṭha', कठभोचिव, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe विद्वत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०त०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समानो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढि) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्वमतल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमन्त्रिर्वका 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन- जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सहसमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समानो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टरूपापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलति = युवाखलति. So also युवति: खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलित: fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववल्गिन: fem. युववल्गिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या , अजात्या , (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवद्भावेन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jāti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यलवणं 'salt food' पानीयशीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' सदृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe भोज्य भोरनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. i. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः , वर्णेन , (स०त०वि०सह समानाधिक०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red.' कुण्डलबन्तः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः,
(स०वि०त०स०समा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word *kumâra* 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words *śramanâ* 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

In this list of *श्रमणा* and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as *श्रमणा*, *प्रव्रजिता*, *कुलटा*, the word *कुमार* must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. *आध्यापक*, *अभिरूपक*, *पण्डित* the word *कुमार* must also be masculine, because 'a *Prâtîpadika* denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, *कुमारीश्रमणा* and *कुमारश्रमणा* 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling.
2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile.
3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman.
4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female.
5. सापसी = A hermit, devotee.
6. दासी = A female servant.
7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman.
8. आध्यापक = A teacher.
9. अभिरूपक = Handsome.
10. पण्डित = Learned, wise.
11. मृदु = Soft.
12. कुशल = Right, proper, good.
13. चपल = Shaking, trembling.
14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः, गर्भिण्या,
(स०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादवाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word *garbhinî*, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

गोर्गर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vari:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—*कालाक्षी गर्भिणी* or *स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी* 'the pregnant cow called *Kālākshî* or *Svastimatî*.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe *प्राज्ञाणी गर्भिणी*

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ यदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः, च,
स०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव जनात्पन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शुभ्रास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवन्ति ॥

72. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक.

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छात्र व्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुह. 4. वचनमुह. 5. हस्ते-
गृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पद्विगृह्य or पाद्विगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गुलेगृह्य or लाङ्गुलगृह्य.
8. पुनर्धाय ॥ एहीडायो ऽन्वयार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहिद्वं वर्तते ॥ 11.
एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया). 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता.
15. अपेहिस्वागता. 16. एहिद्वितीया. 17. अपेहिद्वितीया. 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया. 19.
एहिकटा. 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहकटा. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा. 22. आहरकरटा.
23. प्रेहिकर्षना. 24. प्रोहकर्षना. 25. निधनचूडा. 26. उद्धनचूडा. 27. उद्धरचूडा.
28. आहरचैला. 29. आहर वसना. 30. (आहरसेना). 31. आहरवनिता. 32.
(आहरवितना). 33. कुन्तविचक्षणा. 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा. 35. उद्धरावसृजा. 36.
उद्धभविधमा. 37. उत्पन्नविपत्ता or विपत्ता. 38. उत्पन्ननिपत्ता. 39. उच्चावचम्.
40. उच्चनीचम्. 41. आचोपचम्. 42. आचपराचम्. 43. नक्षत्रचम्. 44. निश्चयचम्.
45. अर्किचन. 46. स्नात्वाकालक. 47. पीत्यास्थिरक. 48. भुक्तासुहित. 49.
शोष्यपापीयान्. 50. उत्पत्त्यपाकला or व्याकुला. 51. निपत्त्यरोहिणी. 52. निवच-
श्यामा. 53. अपेहिमधसा. 54. एहिचिषसा. 55. इहचक्ष्मी. 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि
कर्त्तव्या बहुलमाभीकृण्वे कर्तारं चानिर्धाति. 57. जहिजोडः. 58. जहिजोडम्. 59.
जहिस्तम्बम्. 60. (जहिस्तम्बः). 61. उज्जहिस्तम्ब or जम्ब; आरज्यातमारज्यानेन
क्रियासात्तये. 62. अशनीतपिबता. 63. पचतभृङ्गता. 64. खादतमोहता. 65. खादव-
चमता. 66. खादताचमता. 67. आहरनिवसा. 68. आहरनिष्क्रिया. 69. आवप-
निष्क्रिया. 70. उत्पन्नविपत्ता. 71. निन्धिलवणा. 72. कुन्धिविचक्षणा. 73. पचनवणा.
74. पचमकूटा.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. अकृतोऽभयः. 2. कान्दिर्णकः. 3. कन्दिशीकः. 4. आहोपुरुषिका. 5.
महमहमिका. 6. यदृच्छा. 7. एहिरेयाहिरा. 8. उन्मृजावमृजा. 9. द्रव्यान्तरम्.
10. अवश्यकार्यम्.



ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-
अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी अवयवी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तर-
शब्दाः सामर्थ्यादिकेशवचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।'

1. The words pūrva 'front,' apara 'near,'
adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when
in construction with a word signifying a thing that
has parts, provided that the thing having parts is
distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound
is Tat-purusha.

The word 'ekādhikaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or
qualifies the word 'ekadeśin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound
ordained by sūtra 9; which would have placed the words 'pūrva' &c., last in
the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43
and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the
body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part
of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe
पूर्व नाम्नेः कायस्य. But not so in पूर्व छात्राणामग्र्य 'invite the fore-most of
the pupils': because here the substratum (adhikaraṇa) is not unity (eka).
But how do we get the compounds like मन्वाहः 'noon'; सावाहः 'evening'? The
word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we
learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110.

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०-
स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धमित्येतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध ardhha when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars sūtra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पली = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्ध कोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātaki.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'; नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धं पशोर्वैवस्व 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarāṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थेतुर्यादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-
तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्वतरस्यां समस्त्वन्ते
सम्यक् सहासौ भवति ॥

3. The words dvitīya, 'second,' tṛitīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sūtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं निज्ञावाः = द्वितीयनिज्ञा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9, we have निज्ञाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयनिज्ञा, चतुर्थनिज्ञा, पुरीषनिज्ञा.

Vart.—The word पुरीष 'fourth' should also be included. As निज्ञा-
पुरीषं or तृतीयनिज्ञा.

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणम् .

प्राप्तपक्षे च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-आपक्षे, च, द्वितीयया, (स०त०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त आपन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words prāpta 'obtained,' and āpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekādhikarāṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना, (स०-वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्वास्तीति परिमाणी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्वयद्वाजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, (समर्थःस०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

कार्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपःस्तद्धि भेषे ॥

6. The negative word nañ is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचसि त्वं जान्म 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नभ् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as अग्राक्षयः 'one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेदः 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपटः 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth.' (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अनुदरा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अप्राशस्त्य 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीतिः 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्ययं शब्दोऽकृदन्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word īshat 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix; and the compound is Tat-puruṣha.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कङ्कारः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषम्पिङ्गलः 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकटः 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नतः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्वस्त्रम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषदङ्गार्थः; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is Tat-puruṣha.

As राजः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकम्बलः 'the Brāhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a kṛit-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus इधमप्रचनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलाशशान्तः 'Palāsadestroyer.

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prātipadavidhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vārtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ९ ॥ यदानी ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (स०-स०वि०सु०स०षष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तरलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yājaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmana's sacrificer.' क्षत्रिययाजकः 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि) .

1. याजक . 2. पूजक . 3. परिवारक . 4. परिवेषक . 5. परिवेषक .
6. स्नापक or स्नातक . 7. अध्यापक . 8. उत्साहक or उत्सादक . 9. उद्देतक .
10. होतृ . 11. भई . 12. रथगणक . 13. पत्तिगणक . 14. पौढ . 15. हतृ .
16. वर्तक .

Vart.—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmana-caste.' चंदनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart.—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison तर is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गौः 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्धारणे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्धारणे, (सप्तमिषु-
संघटी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्धारणे या षटी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षटी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhâraṇa).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhâraṇa.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नक्षीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नधगानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोऽज्ञानम्, मधुनोऽज्ञानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थे सद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सु हितार्थे सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येतैः सह षटी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i.e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचमः 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् दशनः (2) काकस्य काष्ण्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः शोह्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits,' फलानां दत्तः. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् 'the doing of a Brāhmana;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brāhmana. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmana,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यम् having the indicative त् (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यम् 'the Brāhmana's duty.' (7) राजः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer

Pāṇini.' We can however form a compound like the following सन्नकारपाणिनिः । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. 1, 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन , च , पूजायाम् , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तेन यः पूजार्थं विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना , च , (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेवां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेवां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , च , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि च या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛtiti of कृ does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i. e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्वयो गवां दूधोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते भोद-नस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खलु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent,' विचित्रा सूत्रस्थ कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि,
(संषष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा तृजाऽकेन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix तृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element वृ are अक; such as एवुवृत् or वृच् or वृत् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शाशिका 'your honor's repose' भवत आशिका 'your eating' भवतोऽग्रगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix तृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The तृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां ने धारयसि.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (संषष्ठीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यौ तृजकी ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अपां स्रष्टा 'the creator of waters' पुरां भेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of याजक (sūtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by वृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by भक्; thus भोदनस्य भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तूनां पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडा-जीविकयोः, (सु०त०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च निश्चयं षष्ठी समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka; when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛtti of the word 'na' which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix वृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभजिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारणपुष्पप्रचायिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also दन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखक 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोदनस्य भोजकः .

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (सु०त०-नित्यसमर्थः सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह निश्चयं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अस्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया .

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवादयः कृशाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह निश्चयसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरश्च न वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tat purusha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60) as, उदरीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) यद्वरीकरोति ॥

So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुषः 'a bad man'; so also सु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुषः 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुषः 'excellent man'; अ means 'a little' as आपिङ्गलः 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कौष्णं or कटुष्णम् or कवौष्णम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आवद्धम् ॥

Vart:—The words प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यः 'a hereditary teacher'; so also प्रान्तेवासी.

Vart:—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As: अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाम् = अतिखट्वः (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' अतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as अवकूटः कौकिलया = अव कौकिलः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring.

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as परिश्रान्तोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययनः 'weary of study.' अलंकृतिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; so also निर्वाणसिः.

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीद्व 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma pravachaniya'; as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिङ् (स०त०-
त्रि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङन्तं समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe ग्रथानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāsha also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारको पदानां कृञिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पन्ते ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus अश्व कीर्त्ती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते सा = अश्व क्रीत; add ङीष् (IV. 1. 50) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टां had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case ङीष् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

असैवाढ्ययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ असा, एव, अढ्ययेन (स०त०-
निरस०उपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययेनोपपदस्य यः समासः सोऽसैव भवति नान्येन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix गमुन् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word only is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and गमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्ने, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix गमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अग्नेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because अग्नेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अग्नेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि
अन्यतरस्याम् (सत०उ०अमैवावययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशस्तृतीयायामित्यतः प्रभृति यान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवावययेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पाश्वर्धोपपीड or पाश्वर्धोरुपपीडम् क्षेत्ते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāshā. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, च, (स०त०तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्य-
न्यतरस्यान् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह द्वितीया प्रभृतीन्युपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvā; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उत्तचैः कृत्य or उत्तचैः कृता . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं कृत्वा or खलु कृत्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञी भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थं ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम्, अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-
बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्युपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारषष्ठ्याश्च बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुन्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvr̥hi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्रातमुदको ग्रामः = प्रातोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊरयो जड्वान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशुकुद्रः 'Rūdra to whom cattle is offered.' उडुतौहना स्थानी 'a vessel in which rice is placed.' विभगुर्वेदस्तः 'Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvr̥hi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse :—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेणे सुलभाजिनवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥ .

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvr̥hi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as पञ्चभिर्भुक्त-मस्य .

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvr̥hi; as उरुचैर्मुखः 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचैर्मुखः &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvr̥hi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कण्ठे स्थितः कालोऽस्य = कण्ठे कालः 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' उरसिलोमः 'who has hair on his chest.' उष्टस्य मुखनिव मुखं यस्य सः = उष्ट्रमुखः 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' खरमुखः 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvr̥hi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As केशानां संघातः = केशसंघातः, केशसंघातभूङ्गाऽस्य = केशचूडः 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽनं हारोऽस्य = सुवर्णनंकारः 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also भ्रमलाशः .

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभावर्यः 'wifeless.'

Vart:—Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvr̥hi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणो 'a Brāhmaṇi having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥

संख्यया, अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः, संख्येये, (स०बहुव्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये या संख्या वर्तते तया सहाव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपद्मः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नद्मः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरद्मः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकद्मः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्वित्राः 'two or three.' द्विद्मः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brāhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पञ्च. Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विंशतिर्गवाम् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि . अन्तराले (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमान्ने पुंवन्नामः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वदिक् dakshina-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्रपथकौबेर्याश्च विशेष्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrīhi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1, 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as *इक्षिणा* + *पूर्वा* = *इक्षिणपूर्वा* ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन, इदम्, इति, सरूपे (*स०बहुव्रीहिः*) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सतम्यन्ते सरूपे परे तेनेति च द्वतीयान्ते इदमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words (both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word *तत्र* means 'a word in the locative case,' and *तेन* 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word *सरूप* or 'similar form' applies to both. The word *इति* indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by *इति*. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word *इदमिति* is *युद्ध*; as *केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं* = *केशाकेशि* (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; *कचाकचि* 'hair against hair'; *दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च प्रहर्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं* = *दण्डादण्डि* 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave,' so also *मूशालामूशाली*. In the above examples the *samāsānta* affix *इच्* is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are *Avyaya* or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: *हलैश्च मुषलैश्च प्रहर्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्*.

तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्ययोगे, (*स०बहुव्रीहिः*) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्येतच्छब्दरूपं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति द्वतीयान्तेन सः समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word *saha* 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छत्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहेव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्वभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स०अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases viz., community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षाम्तां गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following. प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्कुचम्, वाग्दृषदम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samâsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-आदिषु, परम्, (स०उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rājadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्ताना राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (i.e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अग्नेवणम्. 3. जितवासितम्. 4. नममुषितम्. 5. सिन्धुस-
मृष्टम्. 6. मृष्टलुञ्जितम्. 7. अबह्निपक्वम्. 8. अर्पितोत्तम्. 9. (अर्पितोत्तम्). 10.
उत्तगाहम्. 11. उत्तलुञ्जितम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. दृषदुपलम्. 14. आरङ्गा-
यनि. 15. (आरङ्गायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्मीकम्. 17. अवन्त्यश्मकम्. 18.
शुभ्रायम्. 19. ज्ञातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनाङ्गुनौ. 21. अक्षिभुवम्. 22. वारगवम्.
23. शब्दार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ.
28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारितम्. 30. गाजवाजम्. 31. (गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालि-
धानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूजासकारणम्. 35. (पूजासककु-
रणम्). 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूलासम्). 38. उशीरबीजम्. 39. (जिज्ञास्थ).
40. सिञ्जास्थम्. 41. (सिञ्जास्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति).
44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पत्न्यपती. 49.
पुत्रपशू. 50. केशश्मशू or श्मशुकेशौ. 51. शिरोविजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53.
शिरोजान्. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिणी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तादी.
58. गुणबद्धौ. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

द्वन्द्वे चि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, चि, (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे व्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (1. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरौ ' Hari and Hara,' So also पदुगुप्तौ and मृदुगुप्तौ. Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पदुमृदुगुक्ताः or पदुशुक्रमृदवः.

Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपदुः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम्,
(स०उ०पूर्वम्द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुवचनियम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽप्यजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, उष्ट्रश्चरम् 'the camel and the ass,' उष्ट्रश्चशकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्ररथाश्वाः .

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the वि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजायहन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी or इन्द्रवायु. Here अग्नि and वायु though वि, do not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषौ or वृषाश्वे .

अहपाक्षतरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहपाक्षतरम्, (सङ्ख्येपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाक्षतरं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वमयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋतुनक्षत्राणामनुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्वहितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामनुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भ्रातृश्च उद्यावसः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus शश + न्यग्रीध = शशन्यग्रीधौ ; and धवखदिरपन्नाशाः ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखकुन्दुभिर्वीणाः or वीणाशंखकुन्दुभयः .

Vart:—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; चित्रास्वाती ; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ .

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ .

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कुशाकाशः शरशावम् .

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first ; as, मातापितरौ 'mother and father,' अद्भुते 'faith and intelligence' दीक्षातपसौ 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद् युष्ठा: 'Brāhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिराजुर्मौ 'Yudhishthira and Arjuna.'

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्वित्रा 'two; and three'; त्रिचतुरा 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, विशेषणे,
बहुव्रीहौ, (संपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा प्रियस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गङ्गादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also उरसिलोमा, चित्रगुः, शबलगुः.

Vart:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वज्ञेयः, सर्वकुलः, द्विगुहः, द्विकुलः. In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयन्यः, वयन्यः &c.

Vart:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as गुडप्रियः or प्रियगुडः.

Vart:—After the words गङ्गा &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गङ्गाकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गङ्गाधिराः &c.

How is then the word वहेगङ्गा 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

निष्ठा, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (संपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishṭhâ (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकठः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शाङ्गजग्धी, मासजातः, and सुखजातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishṭhâ or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्त्युद्यत 'ready with sword'; दण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

आहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु
(निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं वा प्रयोज्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitâgni and the like, the Nishṭhâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहितान्नि . 2. जातपुत्र . 3. जातदन्त . 4. जातश्मश्रु . 5. तैलपीत .
6. घृतपीत . 7. मद्यपीत . 8. कटभार्य . 9. गतार्थ .

आकृतिगणोऽयम् .

1. गडुकण्ठ . 2. अस्त्युद्यत् . 3. (अस्त्युद्यत) . 4. दण्डपाणिप्रभृतयोऽपि .

This आहिताग्नि class is âkṛitigaṇa; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये,
(समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍārah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍārajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍārah. 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कडार. 2. गडुल. 3. खज. 4. खोड. 5. काण. 6. कुण्ड.
 7. खजवि. 8. गौर. 9. वृद्ध. 10. निशुक. 11. पिङ्ग. 12. पिङ्गल. 13.
 (पिङ्गल). 14. तद्ध. 15. तनु. 16. जडर. 17. बधिर. 18. मडर. 19.
 कज. 20. बर्बर.

This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound'? Observe कडार-
 गुरुषो नामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force
 of I. 4. 1 and II. 1. 3.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं देवितयाः । पदित उर्ध्वजनशुक्रनिष्वालोऽनभिहित इत्येवं
तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes तिङ्; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृद्, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित्; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as कृयते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतम् or शतिका meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः. Similarly by samāsa, as मासशुद्धं ग्रामम् = मासोदको ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारको या संख्या तत्र द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

शार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयवर्तयोः कार्यो विभुपर्यादिषु विभु ।

द्वितीयाऽत्रे द्विताप्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

शार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i. e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of **द्वि** affixes. **कटं करोति** 'he makes the mat,' **ग्रामं गच्छति** 'he goes to the village.'

The words **उभयतः**, **सर्वतः**, **षिक्** and the double forms **उभयुपरि**, **अधोषः**, **अध्वषि**, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as **उभयतो ग्रामं** 'on both sides of the village'; **सर्वतो ग्रामं** 'on all sides of the village'; **षिदेवदत्तं** 'fie to Devadatta'; **उभयुपरि ग्रामम्** 'just over the village'; **अध्वषि** or **अधोषो ग्रामम्** 'just below the village.'

Vart.—The words अग्रितः, परितः both meaning 'round', समया, निकषा both meaning 'near', and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern the accusative case ; as, अग्रितो ग्रामम् 'round the village,' ग्रामं समया 'near the village'; हा देवदत्तं 'woe be to Devadatta'; दुःखितश्च न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः,
छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रसि विषये लुहोतेः कर्मणि कारके तृतीया विभक्ति भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the chhandas (veda), the object of the verb hu 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well

This ordains the third case-affix, and by force of the word च 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as यवाग्नाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or यवाग्नितग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he throws barleypowder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते,
(द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेणशब्दो निपातो साहचर्याद् वृद्धते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति
भवति

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word *antara*, or *antarena* takes the second case-affix

The anuvṛitti of dvitīyā is understand here and not that of tṛtīyā. Both these words antara and antareṇa are Nipātas. They govern the accusative. This debar the genitive case. The word antara means 'between' while antareṇa means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to,' 'regarding.' As, **अन्तरं प्रत्यक्षं न किञ्चित्पश्यते** nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण त्वां च नां च कर्तुः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्त्वां नां तरेण यत्नः प्रतिकर्तुः 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तद्विलां च पाठस्तिपुत्रं कुप्यस्य प्रकारः.

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः,
अत्यन्त-संयोगे, (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल शब्देभ्योऽध्वन्यशब्देभ्यश्च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गन्धमाने ।

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

पाठयन्तीति 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' पावसाः काश्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' शभा वैश्रवणी राजन् यतयोजनमायता 'O ki ng the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe पाठयन्ति द्विरपीति or क्रोशयैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे, तृतीया, (कालाध्वनो
रत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गन्धमाने कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

पाठेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' क्रोधेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेनानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as पाठयन्तीतिऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ,
कारक-मध्ये, (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यो कालाध्वनौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kārakas).

Ex. अद्य भुक्ता देवदत्तो द्वावै द्वादिवाभोक्ता 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयन्निषदासः क्रोधात् क्रौरीं वा सव्यं विधेत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos. Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule 1. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-
युक्ते, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयेषु क्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanīya (I. 4. 83).

Ex. शाकल्यस्य संहितामनुप्रावर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Sākalya.' So also आगस्त्यदम्बविंशत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-
अधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्वर-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयेषु क्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपसार्पाय द्रोणः 'A Droṇa is more than a Khâri,' अधिपत्यस्य दत्ते पञ्चालाः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchālas.' The phrase यस्यचेश्वर वचनं indicate that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4. 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-
परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीययु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयेभ्यो पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachaniyas i.e., apa, ān and pari.

Ex. अप or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्रादावृष्टो देवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pataliputra.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप, therefore, not here इव परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-
प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachaniya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.'
भाषानश्नैतिनेभ्यः प्रतिपद्यति 'he exchanges māsās for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान.

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥
गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्यौ, चेष्टायाम्, अनध्वनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परित्यगक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेऽध्वनिर्भवेति द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ भवतः

12 In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हरिं वृजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अथवागं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice,' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in अश्वेन वृजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note.—The word *adhvan* includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 63) as *पथान्, गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति*.

Note.—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as *पथे गच्छति*.

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने तादर्थ्यं उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृपिसंप्रदाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्पातेन साप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāraka* (I. 4. 32.) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. *उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति* 'He gives a cow to the teacher' *देवदत्ताय रोचते* 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति* (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as *कुपय दार* 'wood is for making posts.' *कुपयत्नाय हिरण्यं* 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' *रन्ध्रनाय स्वासी* 'pot for the sake of cooking.' *अबधनयोस्तूलं* 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb *कृ* and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, *जूत्राय कश्यते यवानः* 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also *जूत्राय संपद्यते जावते वा यवानः*.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला विद्म दातयायाति लोहितः

पीता वर्षाय विद्येया दुर्भिक्षाय श्वेता भतेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word *हितः* as *गोम्योहितं* 'good for cows.'

**क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-
अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः, (चतुर्थी) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthāni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there-with another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyārthe III. 3. 10.).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10.) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलेभ्यो वृजति = फलान्वाहन् वृजति 'he goes for fruits i. e., to bring fruits.' This debars the accusative case. So also we have रक्षेभ्यः वृजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्योपपदस्य and स्वानिनः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrihi compound of क्रियार्य + उपपद and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyārtha).' Thus in स्वानाहन् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहन् is क्रियार्योपपद, the object of this verb is रक्षः when this verb is suppressed it becomes स्वानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action? Observe प्रविश पिंडीम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness रक्षेभ्यो वृजति दृष्टेन 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we 'when suppressed'? Observe स्वानाहन् वृजति.

तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृतिः ॥ तुमर्थाभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाचतुर्थी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

15 The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. वागाय वृजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = वयद् वृजति. So also स्वागाय वृजति, पुण्ये वृजति.

The word तुमर्थ means 'means' having the same significance as the affix तुम.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वहास्वधालं वषट्योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-अलम्-वषट्-योगात्, च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

विः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा अलं वषट् इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words *namah* 'salutation,' *savasti* 'peace,' *svâhâ*, *svadhâ* (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), *alam* 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and *vashat* a term of oblation.

Ex. नमो देवेभ्यः, स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्नेये, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं नरलो नरलाय 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; *svâhâ* to fire; 'svadhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word *अलं* includes its synonyms also, as *प्रभुः*, *यत्नः* &c.; so *वषट्पितृभ्यः*, *वषट्पितृभ्यः*.

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as *स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूवाय* ॥

मन्यकर्मव्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राप्तिषु ॥ १७ ॥ यदानि ॥ मन्य-कर्मणि, अनादरे, विभाषा, अप्राप्तिषु, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यकर्मणि प्राप्तिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्ति भवति अनादरे नम्यनामे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यदेतदप्राप्तिविविधं तदनावादिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb *manya* 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वां दुष्णं दुष्णाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' न त्वां दुष्णं दुष्णाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word *मन्ये*? Observe न त्वां दुष्णं चिन्तयामि. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb *मन्यति*. So also the sūtra uses the form *मन्य* with the vikarṇa रयच्, indicating that it is Divādi that governs a dative, and not the Tanādi नच्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां दुष्णं मन्ये.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as :—

अजगामं दुष्णं मन्ये, मन्ये काष्ठमुलूखलम् । अजगामास्तं दुष्णं मन्ये वस्व जाता न चददति ॥

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative :—as न त्वां जगामं मन्ये 'I do not consider thee even as a jackal.' The case of न त्वां दुष्णे मन्ये is an exception.

Vart :—Instead of using अप्राप्तिषु in the sūtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādi class, they are always in the accusative after the word *मन्ये*, never in the Dative :—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक्र 'parrot,' and जगाम 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयोः तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि कर्णे च कारके तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृतीया विधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' दात्रेण युगति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also बह्वदत्तेन युक्तम्, परयुना क्षिणति ॥

Vart.—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' बल 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विगोत्र, पंचक and बाह्वल as प्रायेण बाह्विकः, गार्होदस्ति गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण प्रायति, द्विगोत्रेण क्षीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहायेन युक्तेऽप्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहगतः पितरः 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण सह 'with the son'. So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 हृदो युना &c.

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, किमेव सहोपाख्या-वस्यगोः .

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लभ्यते तत्तत्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्षया काक्षः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खञ्जः 'lame of foot.' बाहिना कुपटः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्यंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्यंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश्चित्प्रकारं प्राप्त इत्यंभूत, स्वस्यलक्षणादित्यं भूतलक्षणे, तत्तत्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटामिस्तापः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'
अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना द्वात्रिंशद्वासीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamaṇḍalu.' So also द्वात्रिंशोपाध्यायश्च 'a teacher by the fact of having students.' शिखया परिव्राजकश्च 'a Parivrājaka by a tuft of hair.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिहातः 'a student has kamaṇḍalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound, कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृत्तं प्रति विद्योतनं.

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ज्ञः, अन्यतरस्यां, कर्मणि, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मणि कारके द्वितीयायां ग्राह्यायान्यतरस्यां तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñā the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पिता or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' यात्रा or यातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलबाधनयोग्यः पदार्थो लोके हेतुस्त्वयते; यद्वाचिनस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

अकर्तृकृत्तौ षडचनी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तृरि, ऋषो, षडचनी, (हेतौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जितं षड्चं हेतुस्ततः षड्चनी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartṛi or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. यताहः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?'—Observe यत्नेन बन्धितः; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here यत्न being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गुणे,
अस्त्रियाम्, (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावकीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभाक्तर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जादयने जादयताम् वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.'
पांडित्येन or पांडित्याद् युक्तः 'saved through learning.'

Guṇa-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here वनेन युक्तम्. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as बुद्ध्या or मत्तया युक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोग ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुप्रयोगस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word hetu is used along with such a word.

Ex. अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया,
च, (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्ने हेतुप्रयोगप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वाणां प्रायदर्शनम् ॥

27. After a sarvanāman (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word hetu is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth

Ex. कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?'
वस्य or येन हेतुना वसति ।

Vart :—When the words निमित्त or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तेन or कस्यै निमित्तान् or कस्मान्निमित्ताद् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति. Similarly with

the words kârana and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्यै प्रयोजनाय &c., चरति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ल्यप् लोपे कर्णव्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्रन्थारम्भेनाद्य पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाप्यकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तदनु कालकाले चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अप्यनः प्रथमा चतुर्थी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the Apādāna-kāraka (I 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामादागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृक्षेभ्यो विभेति (I. 4. 25), अध्यवनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादनाद् मेवते = प्रासादाद् मेवते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य मेवते = आसनात् मेवते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुतो गताम्? पाटलिपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, गवीधूमतः सांकारयं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankāśya is from Gavidhuma four yojanas.' कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika.' The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गवीधूमतः सांकारयं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ।

अन्यारादितरतांदेकशब्दाज्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥

अन्य--आरात्-इतर-अते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्चु-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर अते दिक्शब्द अञ्चुत्तरपद आच् आहि इत्येतेषां पञ्चमी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or rite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having aîchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, अर्यान्तरं, विलम्बो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' आराद् देव दत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. अन्ते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् यद्यन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer' प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा दक्षिणादि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb aîchu are also दिक्प्रत्ययः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sūtra does not come after them.

षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्ताद् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, foremost, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनपश्चतस्रस्यानद्वरे षष्ठ्या इति षष्ठ्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामात् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विना नानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-
विनः-नानाभिः, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथग् विना नाना इत्येते वेगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words *prithak* 'without', *vinā* 'without' and *nānā* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex. रामाग्रजेष्व रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्. By this arrangement we can read *dvitiya* into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षं विद्मः त्वमपतनं विना ।

विना इति कृताद्देशाद् कोनेनी पातितौ बुभौ ॥

कारणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥
कारणे, च, स्तोक्-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य, असत्त्ववचनस्य, (तृतीया-
पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक् अल्प कृच्छ्र कतिपय इत्येतेभ्योऽसत्त्ववचनेभ्यः कारणे कारकोऽन्यतरस्यां तृतीया भवति पञ्चमे च ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kāraka, optionally after the words *stoka* 'little,' *alpa* 'little,' *kricchhira* 'difficulty,' and *katipaya* 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा युक्तः and अल्पान्युक्तः or अल्पेन युक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेन हतः, अल्पेन ययुना नक्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकां लु चति 'he loosens a little.' Here *स्तोका* is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (कारण).

दूरान्तिकार्यैः षष्मन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्ति-
क-अर्थैः, षष्ठी, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्यैः षष्ठीवेगेन षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. when in conjunction with words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. वानाद् वानस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रकृष्टं, अन्तिकं, अग्र्यात्, निकटं वशीत् वा 'the forest is distant from or near, or to the village.'

The force of the word अयतरस्यां is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्योद्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदायि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थेभ्यः, द्वितीया, च, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमीद्वितीयापि समुच्चीयते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं हृषीद् दूरेषु वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकेन दूरे वा ग्रामस्य.

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्थाः, दूराय पथे देहि.

सप्तम्यधिकरणे, च, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी. अधिकरणे, च, (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारको चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्तृसमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कारकादायां वा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अकारकादायां वा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्यासे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तात्कर्तृसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' ह्यार्या पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart.—Words like अधीति 'who has learnt,' मुहीति 'who has comprehended;' i.e., words formed by adding इत् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीती इवाकरे 'versed in grammar.' परिगणितो यज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites.' आवाप्सो वन्दति 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words वायु and अवायु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरि वायुर्वायु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as शूद्रेषु भुञ्जानेषु दरिद्रा आसते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' दरिद्रेषु आसीनेषु शूद्राभुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

चर्मणि द्विषिन् हति, दंतयोर्हन्ति कुंजरम् ।

कोमेदु चर्मरौ हति सोऽग्निं पुष्कलको इतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, for chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च. भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम्, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रियायाः क्रियान्तरं लभ्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhāva) of whatsoever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दूतगानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्वास्वानगतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु भुञ्जानेषु गतः, हुवेऽवागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe दो अटाभिः च भुञ्जे. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness दो भुञ्जे च देवदत्तः.

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठा, च, अन्-आदरे, (सप्तमी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यो विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदतिवा प्राज्ञाजीम् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English word 'notwithstanding' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., रुद्राः पश्यन् दृष्ट्वा रुद्राः परवतो रावचस्य 'the

Nandas were killed like so many beasts Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्च राधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्वामिन् ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति दायाद साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसूत इत्येतेषां षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तीभवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir', sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety,' and prasūta 'begotten'.

गवां गेषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows' So also गवाध्विपतिः or गेष्वधिपतिः, गवां दायादः or गेषु दायादः, गवां or गेषु साक्षी प्रतिभूः &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-
कुशलाभ्यां, च, असेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुशलो निपुणः ताभ्यां योगे आसेवायां गन्धमानायां चर्मा यष्ट्या विभक्तीभवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुशलो वा कटकरणे कटकरणस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गौ बद्धे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्द्वारणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्द्वारणम्,
(षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्द्वारणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तमी विभक्तीभवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गर्वा गोषु वा कृष्णा मधुखीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk., मधुष्वाचा or मधुक्षेत्रे चमयः घूरतः.

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, विभक्ते, (यतय निर्द्धारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्किमनिर्द्धारणाय विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागो विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pâtaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां, अर्चायम्, सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्चायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेद्, प्रतिः प्रत्ययते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words sādhu 'good,' and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्देवदत्ते मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्ह्यस्योराट् 'the servant is good towards the king. Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, चतु &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्देवदत्तः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च, ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां, तृतीया, च, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' केयैः or केयेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (तीया सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुपस्तान्मन्त्रशब्दात् तुतीयावस्यता तन्मन्त्रा नक्षत्रः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमस्मीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV 2 5. So also नचाभिः पललोदनं नचाभु पललोदनम्. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe नचाभु ग्रहः 'the planet in the Maghâ.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अस्म्युप्यः, यस्याकृतिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचन मात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्रे परिमाणमात्रे वचनमात्रे प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominalstem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कूर्व 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prâtipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khâri, âḍhaka &c. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nîpatas which do not denote anything are also Prâtipadika.

संख्योद्यने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्ख्योद्यने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्योद्यने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामो, हे रामाः ॥

साऽऽमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सञ्ज्ञानन्त्रिम् (सन्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने वा प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंबं भवति ॥

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2. 78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः,
(आमन्त्रितम् प्रथ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंबं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in रद् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as
हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थप्रतिरिक्तः स्वस्वाधिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining case, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. रामः पुत्रः 'the king's man' पयोः पादः 'beast's foot' पित्रः पुत्रः father's son.'

ज्ञोविदर्यस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्यस्य, करणे,
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञानतेरविदर्यस्याज्ञानार्यस्य करणे कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुना जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also चर्विषा जानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as चरिषि रक्तः प्रतिहतावा. Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्हदयेशां कर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्ह-दय-ईशां,
कर्मणि, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्हयाः स्मरणार्थाः । दय दानगतिरवश्यम् । ईय ईश्वर्यम् । इतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातुः अध्येति 'he remembers the mother,' चरिषो हवते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणाभीष्टे 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातरं स्मरति is also allowed.

कृजः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, प्रतियत्ने, (कर्मणि
शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतिः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्ने गन्धमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue (I. 3. 32).

Ex. वृषोदकस्येव पस्कुहते 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, च is inserted).

When प्रतिबन्ध is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कटं करोति.

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also वृषोदकस्य पस्कुहते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामञ्ज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां,
भाववचनानाम्, अञ्ज्वरे, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां ञ्ज्वरिर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अञ्ज्वरि संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict', with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (*i. e.*, when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. *चौरस्य व्रजति रोगः* 'the disease afflicts the thief' *चौरस्यानयति आनयः* ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe *नदी कुलानि व्रजति* 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here *चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः* 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb *संताप* is used, *चौरं संतापयति तापः* ।

The word *शेष* is also understood here. Thus *चौरं व्रजति रोगः* ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथ् नाथ् याज्ञोपतपैश्वर्याग्नीधु पठयते, तस्याग्नीः क्रियस्य कर्मणि कारके शेष एवेन विभक्तिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. *ननुने नागते* 'he blesses the honey.' But *नाथवक्तुपनायति*, *अनं पुत्री-काशीष्व* 'he solicits *mānavaka* saying (child) son, study.' Here *नाथ* does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिप्रहृणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निप्रहृण-नाट-क्राथ-पिषां, हिंसा-याम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जाति निप्रहृण नाट क्राथ पिष इत्येतेषां चातृणां हिंसा क्रियायां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs *jâsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, *nâṭ* 'to injure,' 'krâth,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योऽज्ञायति, *निप्रहन्ति*, *निहन्ति*, *प्रहन्ति*, *प्रणिहन्ति*, *उन्नाटयति*, *क्राथयति*, *पिषति* वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root *चडु* belonging to the *Churadi* class should be taken, and not *Divâdi*. *हन्* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni* may be taken in any order. The root *क्रथ्* takes in the causative *vridhhi* irregularly. The verb is *Bhvâdi* and falls into the subdivision *ghatâdi*, and is called there a *निङ्* verb; all *निङ्* verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix *चिच्* (VI. 4. 92). Thus *क्राथ* is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning, to injure'? Observe चावाः चिनहि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word चेष is also understood here as चौरमुत्पादयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं दिवस्ति. चौरं चिह्नित ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः, समर्थयोः (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs *vyavahri* and *pan* when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. अतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes hundred.'

Why does not the verb *पण* take the affix *आच्*? It takes *आच्* when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here अनाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणां वदामते 'he praises the Brâhmanas.' The word चेष is also here understood, so that we have अतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिव्यवहृपणोः दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58. The object of the verb *div* when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. अतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in a hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The *yoga vibhâga* when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the *anuvṛitti* of *दिव* runs, and not of others.

विभावोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभावा, उपसर्गे, (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb *div* when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an *upasarga* (or preposition).

Ex. यतस्य यतं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, यथाकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया. ब्राह्मणे,
(इविवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brāhmaṇa literature.

Ex. गानस्य तदहः सभायां दीव्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasargas it is optional. The anuvṛitti of the word येष does not extend to this sūtra, or the following.

प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविवोदेवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-ब्रुवोः,
हविषः, देवता-सम्प्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषः कर्मणः षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदानेऽस्ति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divādi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

Ex. अग्नये जागस्य हविवोदपावा नेदोऽग्नुरुह प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here.—अग्नये जागं हविवर्षां नेदो ब्रुहि. Because the verb is not preshya or brūhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयाम् प्रेष्य. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too नाचावकाव पुरोडाशं ने च्य. Because the recipient is not a diety. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart :—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निषां जागं हविवर्षां नेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

चतुर्थ्यर्थं बहुलं कन्दसि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे, बहुलं,
कन्दसि (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्दसि विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

कर्त्तृकार ॥ चतुर्थ्यर्थं चतुर्थी कर्त्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुष्यवृक्षमृगमनसः or चन्द्रमणे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गोधा कालका दावर्षा वाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः, to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kálaka bird, &c. So also वायुरस्मा उवा गम्यत् (R. Ved X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe कृष्णोराग्नये, दिनवती हस्ता.

Vart.—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as वा खर्वैश्च पिबति तस्यै खर्वोन्मावते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstua.' So also वा दते भावति तस्यै स्वावदत् 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' वा नखानि कृण्वति तस्यै कुण्वतः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in वाऽङ्गुलीतस्यै काष्ठः वाऽङ्गुलीतस्यै दुग्धर्षा, वा लेभाद् प्रलिनयति तस्यै खलति ॥ अह्नवायै जातः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7.)

यजेश्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि यजेः, च, करणे, (चही) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजेश्वरिताः करणे करणे कर्णद्वि बहुलं चही विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. बृतस्य or बृतेन यजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन यजते ॥

कृत्वोऽर्धप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्धप्रयोगे, काले, अधिकरणे (चही) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वोऽर्धानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे चही विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarāna) after a word denoting time (kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽह्नोद्युजे 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरह्नोऽधीते 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वद्युज्'? Observe अह्नि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अह्नि युक्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कस्त्र्यावासां युजे 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when

location is not meant: as द्विरुनो जुक्ते. The शेष being understood we have द्विरन्वधीते.

कर्तृ-कर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, कृति ।
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतप्रयोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1.93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kālidāsa.' आहूता ऋतूनां 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भवतः शयिका 'your turn of lying down.' अर्पां अह्ना, पुरां भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता. But not in यस्त्रेण भेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वाकटं. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तिसंस्मिन्कृति शेषोभयप्राप्तिस्त्वत्तत्कर्तृपदेव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अकारारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आहूत्यै गवां दौदोऽनोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते मे ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन. 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्जिदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्वया 'the dissertation on words by the āchārya' बहिरादि भूतस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Pāṇini.' Apte.

कृतस्य च, वर्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृतस्य, च, वर्तमाने
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ननु सके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ येषविधानात् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क् when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राजा वृजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमेव नहीयते: 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्'? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Part:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as नयूरस्य नृत्यं 'the dancing of a peacock' शालस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the student', कोकिलस्य उपाहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम्.

This sūtra debars sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः, च, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोपिकारणे चेति वक्ष्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क् is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhā contained in II. 3. 69. As हृदनेषामावितम् 'this is their seat.' हृदनेषां यवितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in कृt-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः, 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृणाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उ-क-अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृणाम्, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उ क अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थ तृ इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उ क प्रतिषेधे कनेर्भाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तामुक्कमुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः षट्पदां वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or ड, or उक्, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a Noun of agency formed by हुन् »

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + उक् = लोक .

1. The word क्त means the substitutes of ल i.e., the Present Participles in लु, लानच् (III. 2. 124), कानच् (III. 2. 106) क्तवु (III. 2. 107) क्त and क्ति (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पचानः or पचिवाद्, पचिः पानम्, इदिर्गाः »

2. The affix ड is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं तुमुडुः » The prohibition applies when a word ending in इच्छु (III. 2. 136) is the governing term ; as, कन्यामलङ्कच्छुः »

3. The affix उक् is ordained by III. 2. 154 : as आनामुक् चाराकषी एव आहुः »

Vart :— But the word कामुक in the classical Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as दास्याः कामुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुक्त्वा »

Vart :— This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by तेजु (III. 4. 16) and कजु (III. 4. 17), as, पुत्रा दूर्यस्योदेतेराधेयः पुत्रा क्रूरस्य विदूषो विदूषिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishthā i.e., क्त and क्तवु ; as ओदनं भुक्तवान् देवदत्तेन कृतम् .

6. The words formed by कर्त्तृ affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः शोभो भवता .

7. The हुन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the हु of लु (III. 2. 129) and the final ह् of लु (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes लानच् (III. 2. 128), पानच् (III. 2. 129), लु (III. 2. 130) and लु (III. 2. 135). As ओदनं पचमानः, लट्पचमानः, अशीयन्, चाराकषन्, कर्ता कटाद्, वदिता जनापवादाद् .

Vart :— Optionally so, when the root द्विप् takes the affix लु, as, चोदं or चोदस्व द्विप् »

अक्रेतोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ययोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-कृतोः, भविष्यद्-आधमर्ययोः (वही) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्व भविष्यति काले विहितस्तेनसु भविष्यति आधमर्यं च विहितस्य अक्रेतो वही विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in **अक** denoting futurity, or in **इद्** denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix **अक**, such as **बहुक**, **बुद्** &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix **इद्** such as **चिदि** (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus **कर्म करंको वृजति** 'he goes to make a mat.' **खोदनं भोजको वृजति** 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with **इद्**, as **ग्रामं गन्ती** or **गन्ती** 'he has to go to the village.' **शतं दायी** 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe **ववानां कावकः** 'the cutter of barley.' **वक्तॄणां पावकः**, **अवसरं करी कटस्वः** ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following **वर्षयत्तस्य पूरकः**, **पुत्रयोः स्यादर्थकः**? The words **पूरक** and **दर्थक**, though formed by **अक** (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that **अक** which denotes futurity, viz., III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter **अक**, and not every **अक** in general.

कृत्यानां कर्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्तरि, वा, (षष्ठी) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्तरि वा बहु विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्तृणि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ कृते षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive-Participle (**kṛitya**).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (**kṛit**-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agent only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus **नवतः** or **नवता वरः कर्तव्यः** (II. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As **नेत्रं जानकः वाङ्मार्** ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus **अहम्बरं ग्रामं याता देवदत्तेन**, **नेत्रं वा जानकं देवदत्तेन** ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपनाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपनाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः शब्दैरेभि तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पदे षष्ठी न, तुलोपना शब्दो वर्जयित्वा ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to or resemblance'; excepting **दुर्गा** and **उपना**

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सद्व्यो देवदत्तेन, or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपमा कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of च was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याच् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याच् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याच् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word चतुर्थी instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—‘Pāṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां, यदारोहति दंतवाससा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नमसा तुलां वमारोह (Raghuvamsa VIII. 15), स्फुटोपमं भूतिचित्तेन चंचुना (Māgh I. 4).’

चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥
चतुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतर-
स्याच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि मन्थमानावाच् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतेभ्यो चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । चकारो विकल्पादुक्तवार्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रायुष्यादीनां पर्यायग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha ‘long life,’ madra ‘joy,’ bhadra ‘good fortune,’ kusala ‘welfare,’ sukha ‘happiness,’ artha ‘prosperity,’ and hita ‘good.’

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Varī:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चित् जीवितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरानयं, सुखं, च, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पर्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when ‘benediction is intended’? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तदा ‘the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.’ Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

ओ३म्

॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः सत्तावः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चगवं 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्च पत्नी (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपत्नीयं शोभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः, च, प्राणि-
तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणयङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनवति, तथातूर्याङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादश्च 'the hand and foot' शिरोग्रिव 'the head and neck' मर्दिङ्गकपाणविकश्च 'players on the mridaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहश्च 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' बीजावादकपरिवादकश्च, रथिक-
पादादश्च ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses, &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14.) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।

(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनवति अनुवादे गण्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वेरोरदसत्प्रां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools When the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरन् means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâdâ.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इङ् only; as उदगात् कठकालापाद् 'kaṭha and kâlâpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यह्नात् कठकौशुमाद् 'kaṭha and kâuthuma established again.

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदगुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यह्नुः कठकौशुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इङ् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उदयन्ति कठकालापाः

Note:—This sūtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyengar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthâ and iṅ in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is. 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned especially along with another.'

अध्वर्युऋतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युः, ऋतुः अ-नपुंस-
कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुवाचिनां यज्जानानपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधश्च 'the Arks and Asvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नातिरात्रश्च 'the Sâyâhna and Atirâtra sacrifices.

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda' sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्रो 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिद्बलमिदौ ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter' gender? Observe राजसूय-
वाजपेयो 'the Râjasûya and Vâjapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासौ? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Purnamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टारूपाणाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि-
प्रकृष्ट-रूपाणाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषां विप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यासन्ना आरूपा तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदकक्रमकश्च 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so, also क्रमकवार्तिककश्च.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकर्तृश्च 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिप्रमाणिणाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिणाम्,
(द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां यज्जानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jâti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus शूराशस्त्रि 'the probe and the knife'; पानाश्वकुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकापञ्चजान्यो 'Nandaka and Panchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living'? See ब्रह्मचरिण्यो 'Brahmanas and the Kahatriyas.'

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jati names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति). Thus रसपरवन्मन्वस्यर्था: 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; गमनाकुक्ष्यनप्रसारणानि 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jati names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इह कुण्डे बदरानलकानि विद्यन्ति 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.'

The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion, and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्वन्द्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां ग्रामानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां द्वन्द्वसंज्ञकवृत्तिः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगासोमश्च 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरुः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' उद्वयैरावती कुरुकुरु जाह्नवश्च ॥

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गंगासुमे 'the Ganga and the Yamuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also नन्दकोकवाः ॥

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe. पुच्छद्वयौ 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town? See जाम्बवसालुकिनौ 'Jāmbaba and Sālukini, which are the names of two villages or grama.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धनादौ the Kailasa and the Gandhamadana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pataliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

सुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्रव्य एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्रव्य एकवचनवति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus घृक्षालिवद् 'the louse and the nil'; दंशनमक् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word सुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called सुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mon-goose are kshudrajanu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्रव्यः, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां शब्दानां द्रव्य एकवचनवति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity : and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, बार्जरिपक्षद् 'the cat and the rat ; खड्गमालद् 'the dog and the jackal'; अहिमकुलं. 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupali and Salankayana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of च 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds.

Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्ववनिषत्, 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकश्च 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अनिर्व-
सितानाम्; (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्रवाचिनां यच्छदानां द्वन्द्व एकवचमवति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तवावस्करश्च 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतनुवायश्च 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिर्वसित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvasita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandala and the Mritāpa.'

गवाश्चपृथ्वीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि । गवाश्चपृथ्वीनि, (एक-
वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्चपृथ्वीनि द्वैतेकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

11. The word gavâśva; and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्च 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकश्च.

गवाश्चादिः

1. गवाश्च. 2. गवाविकश्च. 3. गवैडकश्च. 4. अजगविकश्च. 5. अजै-
डकश्च. 6. कुम्भवानमश्च. 7. कुम्भकौरातकश्च. 8. पुत्रपौत्रश्च. 9. श्वचण्डालश्च.
10. कीकुमारश्च. 11. दासीनाथवकश्च. 12. शाटीपिण्डकश्च. 13. उड्डालश्च.
14. उड्डालश्च. 15. मूत्रमूत्रश्च. 16. मूत्रपुरीषश्च. 17. यक्षन्नेहः. 18.
नांसयोचितश्च. 19. दर्भयश्च. 20. दर्भपृथ्वीकश्च. 21. अर्जुनशिरीषश्च. 22.
दृबोलयश्च. 23. दासीदासश्च. 24. कुटीकुटश्च. 25. भगवतीभागवतश्च.

Vart :—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्च or गोव्यौ. In this form of गो and अश्व the next 'rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुन्यश्व-वडव-पूर्वापर-अधरोत्तर-राणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-अश्व-वडव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (६०९०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष मृग तृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववडव पूर्वापर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां द्वन्द्वो विभाषैकवद्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः कलसेना वनस्पतिमृगशकुनिपुत्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds asva-vaḍava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12. Thus, *प्रक्षयग्रोधश्च* or *प्रक्षयग्रोधाः* 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; *रुरुपृषतश्च* or *रुरुपृषताः* 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; *कुशकाशश्च* or *कुशकाशाः* 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāśa grass'; *ब्रीहियवश्च* or *ब्रीहियवाः* 'the rice and the barley' *दधिपुत्रश्च* or *ते* 'the curd and the butter' *गोनहृषश्च* or *वाः* 'the cow and the buffalo'; *तित्तिरिक्पिञ्जलश्च* or *ताः* 'the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds'; *अश्ववडवश्च* or *वाः* 'the horse and the mare'; *पूर्वापरश्च* or *रे* 'the first and the last'; *अधरोत्तरश्च* or *रे* 'the upper and lower.

Vart.—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, *बदरानलके तिरुतः* 'a badari and an āmalāki fruit are here'; *रथिकाश्चारीदौ* 'a charioteer and a horseman'; *प्रक्षयग्रोधौ* 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; *रुरुपृषतौ* 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; *हंसचक्रवाकौ* 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; *शृङ्गालिनि* 'a louse and nit'; *ब्रीहियवौ* 'a brīhi and yava grain'; *कुशकाशौ* 'the kuśa and kāśa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं, च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा ६० एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां यद्वदानामनधिकरणवाचिनामद्वयवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति विभाषातुर्कथ्यार्थे चकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus *शीतोष्णश्च* or *शीतोष्णे* 'cold and heat'; *सुखदुःखं* or *सुखदुःखे* 'pleasure and pain'; *जीवितमरणश्च* or *जीवितमरणे* 'life and death.'

The word *विप्रतिषिद्धं* means words of contrary significations, च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कानक्रोधी 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णौ उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि
(द्र०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि यद्गदरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipāya' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसौ 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्नपुनी or नपुसर्पिणी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसौ. 2. सर्पिर्नपुनी or नपुसर्पिणी. 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती. 4. शिव-वैभवसौ. 5. स्कन्दविशालौ. 6. परिब्राट्कौशिकौ. 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ. 8. शुक्ल-कृष्णौ. 9. हृन्मावर्हिणी ॥ निपातनाद्दीर्घः ॥ 10. दीङातपसी. 11. मङ्गातपसी. 12. लेघातपसी. 13. अर्धयमतपसी. 14. उल्लूखलशुसले. 15. आदावसाने. 16. मङ्गावसाने. 17. श्रुक्सने. 18. वाङ्मनसे.

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एता वत्वे, च,
(न द्र०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्तिपदार्थः. स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्वे परिमाणे गण्यमाने द्वन्द्वौ नैकवद्भवति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhikārṇa) is not singular.

As, दश दन्तोद्घाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दशमार्दङ्गिकापणविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैता-
वत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपदश दन्तोद्गः or उपदशा दन्तोद्गाः 'nearly ten i.e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपदश नार्दङ्गिकापञ्चिका or उपदशा नार्दङ्गिकापञ्चिकाः nearly ten (nine or eleven) mṛdaṅga and paṇava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrīhi or an Avyayībhava compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayībhava, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bhuvrīhi compound. As, उपदश; उपदशाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायनेकवद्भावो विहितः स नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तेऽन्त रपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽवन्तः स्त्रियानिष्टः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतो नलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पात्रादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender

As, दशगवश्च 'an aggregate of ten cows'; पादिकादश्च 'hands and feet, शिरोग्रीवश्च 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26

Vart :—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चपुत्री, दशरथी.

Vart :—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चवह्वश्च or पञ्चवह्वी.

Vart :—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अच्, is optionally feminine and the न is elided; as पञ्चतवश्च or अञ्चतवशी,

Vart :—A Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रश्च; चतुर्गवश्च; त्रिपुत्रगवश्च.

अथययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथययी भावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अथययीभावश्च समासो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यपुदिनाभ्यामहः स्त्रीवत्तेष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पयः संख्याभ्यामादेः स्त्रीवत्तेष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविधेयः ॥ तां कर्तव्यं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayibhāya (II 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अचिन्ति 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, उपकुमारि, उन्मत्तमनसश्च &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayibhava compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart :—Neuter gender is employed after the word अव्यय preceded by पुण्य or बुद्धि; as उपयाह्व 'sacred day'; बुद्धिनाह्व 'lucky day.'

Vart :—The word पञ्च is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as त्रिपञ्च, चतुष्पञ्च, विपञ्च, दुपञ्च.

Vart :—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनञ्कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्यतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhāraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, दाहयसेनश्च or ना (II. 4. 25); but दृढसेनो राजा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); असेना (it being a compound with नञ् = अ); and परमसेना (it being Karmadhāraya).

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्था, उशीनरेषु, (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्था उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśīnaras.

As, सोमनिकम्प्य 'the town of Sauśami'; आह्वरकम्प्य 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरकम्प्या. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśīnaras; as दाचिकम्प्या.

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

**उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिर्यासायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-
उपक्रमं, तद्-आदि-आचिर्यासायाम् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदद्याचिर्यासायां तयो
उपज्ञोपक्रमयोराचिर्यासायां नपुंसकानाम् ।

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञनाकालापरकं व्याकरणम् 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Panini's invention'; व्याद्युपपदं दुष्करम् 'Vyadi, invened Dushkarana'; आडयोपक्रमं प्रासादः 'the palace is an invention of rich folks'; नन्दोपक्रमानि मातानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' पयसोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिरलोकाः 'the slokas invented by Valmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bohtlingk gives पाणिन्युपज्ञकालकं व्याकरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Panini, (VI. 2. 14).

**छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः,
नपुंसक) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छायास्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये नपुंसकानाम् ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शलभच्छायाय् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' इडुशाय् 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when *chhaya* has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्य-
पूर्वा (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजापूर्वा मनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ* 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word *Rājā*, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As *हन्तसभम्* 'the King's Court.' *ईश्वरसभम्* 'Lord's Court.'

But in *राजसभा* 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of *राजा* are only to be taken and not the word-form *राजा*; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also *रक्षःसभम्* 'the Court of the Rakshasas' *पिशाचसभम्* 'the Court of the *Pisachas*.'

But in *काष्ठसभा*, *दैवदत्तसभा* &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning *Rakshasa* or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरुष
नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ*, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, *स्त्रीसभम्*, *दासीसभम्* 'the concourse of ladies and slaves'; otherwise *अनाथसभा* 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥
विभाषा, सेना-सुर-छाया-शाला-निशानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सेना सुर छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words *senâ* 'army' *surâ* 'wine,' *chhâyâ* 'shadow', *śālâ* 'house,' and *nisâ* 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle *nañ* (II. 2. 6) and the *karnadhâraya* compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनश्च 'the Brāhmana army,' यवसुरश्च, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुडयच्छायाश्च, कुडयच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालश्च, गोशाला 'the cow house,' स्वनिशश्च, स्वनिशा 'to-morrow night.' But असेना 'non-army,' परमसेना good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadharaya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14. 123.

परवलिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्,
द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य परलिङ्गं तद्वत्त्वति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वाचिङ्गम् ॥ द्विगुमाह पञ्चमालं प्रवर्गगतिस्मादेव प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुक्कुटमृग्याविने 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मृग्याकुक्कुटाविनौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhara Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्द्धपिप्पला, अर्द्धपिपली 'half a pippali'; अर्द्धकोयतकी.

Varṭ :—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with ग्राह, आपन्न and, अलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपालः 'Purodasa prepared in five cups'; ग्राहजीविकः (ग्राह + जीविका) 'has obtained living,' आपन्नजीविकः, अलंजीविकः; निष्कौशाग्निः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वडवा,
(लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववडवयोः पूर्ववदलिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vadava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter, अश्ववडवाविनौ; अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तेशिशिरावहोरात्रे च छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्ते-
शिशिरी, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तेशिशिरी अहोरात्रे इत्येतयो रक्षसि विषये प्रवर्तितं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantāśisirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas, (vedas).

हेमन्तशिषिरावृत्तां ग्रीष्मानि, अहोरात्रे इदं ब्रूयः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाद्वित्तः, अपरपक्षाः पुत्तियस्, अहोरात्राशीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिषिरे, अहोरात्राविनी पुत्तयो. In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः, पुंसि ॥

पुंसि ॥ रात्र अह्न अह इत्येते पुंसि नाप्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpuruṣa compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samāsanta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि+अच् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः, त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्नः, अपराह्नः, मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्वयः 'two days' त्रयः, 'three days.'

Vart.—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः, शंयुवाकः, वृक्तवाकः &c.

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम्, नपुंसकम् ॥

द्विः ॥ अपथं शब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpuruṣa word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथनिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गच्छति बभूवुः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथोदयः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi the word is masculine so; also अपथं नगरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च.
(नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धर्चादयः शब्दा पुंसि नपुंसके च नाश्वस्यते ॥

31. The words 'ardharoha &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As, अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चस् 'half a verse,' गोमयः and गोमयस् 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मस् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखस् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतस् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवस् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So चर्चः and चर्चस्.

1. अर्धर्च. 2. गोमय. 3. कषाय. 4. कार्पाय. 5. कुतप. 6. कुतप.
7. (कुतप). 8. कषाट. 9. शकुल. 10. गूय. 11. गूय. 12. च्वन. 13.
- कवच. 14. पद्म. 15. दृढ. 16. सरक. 17. कंच. 18. दिवच. 19. गूय.
20. अन्धकार. 21. द्रव. 22. कनकहस्त. 23. नरक. 24. भूत. 25. द्वीप.
26. द्यूत. 27. चक्र. 28. चर्च. 29. चर्चस्. 30. नोदक. 31. यतनान. 32.
- यान. 33. नल. 34. नखर. 35. चरक. 36. पुष्क. 37. दाहिन. 38. हिन.
39. रजत. 40. सक्त. 40. पिधान. 41. सार. 42. पात्र. 43. घृत. 44.
- सैन्धव. 45. श्रीवच. 46. आहक. 47. चर्चक. 48. 'द्रोह. 49. खलीन. 50.
- पालिव. 51. बहिल. 52. वाट्याच. 53. (वाट्याच). 54. प्रोय. 55. कपित्थ.
56. शुष्क. 57. शक्य. 58. गील. 59. शूक. 60. (शूक). 66. श्रीधु. 52.
- कवच. 63. रेडु. 64. (शुच) 65. कपट. 66. गीकर. 67. सुवल. 68. सुवर्च.
69. वर्च. 70. सुर्व. 71. चरच. 72. गीर. 73. कर्च. 74. आकाश. 75.
- अष्टापद. 76. नङ्गल. 77. मिथन. 78. निर्वाच. 79. गुणन. 80. भूत. 81.
- पुस्त. 82. पुस्त. 83. खेडित. 84. गूङ्ग. 85. निगड. 86. (खल). 87. मूलक.
88. नपु. 89. नल. 90. द्यूत. 91. शराव. 92. बाल. 93. तम. 94.
- विमान. 95. शुल. 96. प्रगीर. 97. शुल. 98. वज्र. 99. कटुक. 100. कपटक.
101. (कर्पट). 102. शिलर. 103. कवक. 104. (वटकल). 105. नटनक. 106.
- (नाटनस्तक). 107. वलय. 108. कुतुन. 109. तुल. 110. पङ्क. 111. कुण्डल.
112. किरीट. 113. (कुतुन) 114. अर्जुन. 115. अर्जुन. 116. तिमिर. 117.
- आश्रम. 118. भूषण. 119. दृक्क. 120. (दृक्का). 121. कुकुल. 122. वसन्त.
123. तटाक. 124. (तडान). 125. चिटक. 126. चिटक. 127. विडङ्ग. 128.
- पिपयाक. 129. नाव. 130. कोय. 131. कंतक. 132. दिन. 133. देवत. 134.
- पित्राक. 135. लगर. 136. स्थापु. 137. अनीक. 138. उपवाच. 139. शाक.
140. कर्पाच. 141. (विद्याल). 142. चवाल. 143. (चवाल). 144. खण्ड. 145.
- दर. 146. चिटप. 147. (रच). 148. (चल). 149. (नक). 150. मृषाल. 151.
- दल. 152. आर्द्र. 153. दल. 154. (चूत्र). 155. तावड. 156. नापडीक.

157. नरद्वय. 158. पट्ट. 159. लीच. 160. योच. 161. चार्ज. 162. शरीर.
 163. कल. 164. (कल) 165. पुर. 166. पुरा. 167. राष्ट्र. 168. अम्बर.
 169. इन्ध. 170. कुट्टिन. 171. नरद्वय. 172. (कुट्ट). 173. कुट्ट. 174.
 ककुट. 175. सरद्वय. 176. तेलुर. 177. तेलुर. 178. नक्षक. 179. पञ्चक.
 180. पुच्छ. 181. नभ्य. 182. (बाल). 183. बाल. 184. वल्मीक. 185.
 बर्ष. 186. बल. 187. बल. 188. देव. 189. उद्यान. 190. उद्योग. 191.
 स्वेद. 192. स्तेन. 193. (स्तेन). 194. (स्वर). 195. संगत. 196. निष्क.
 197. जैन. 198. युक्त. 199. चक्र. 200. पवित्र. 201. (यौवन). 202. (कलह).
 203. बालक. 204. (पालक). 205. मूषिक. 206. (नरद्वय). 207. (वल्मीक).
 208. कुत्र. 209. (कुत्र). 210. विहार. 211. लोहित. 212. (विषाख).
 213. भवन. 214. शरय. 215. पुलिन. 216. दृढ़. 217. आसन. 218.
 वैराग्य. 219. युर्ष. 220. लीच. 221. लोचन. 222. (लोचन). 223. तनाल.
 224. लोह. 225. दण्डक. 226. शयन. 227. प्रतिनर. 228. दाह. 229.
 चतुर्षु. 230. ज्ञान. 231. बर्षस्क. 232. कूर्च. 233. तण्डक. 234. नद.
 235. वदल. 236. ओदन. 237. प्रवाल. 238. शकट. 239. अपराध. 240.
 नीच. 241. बकल. 242. तण्डुल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽनुदात्त तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः,
 अन्वादेशे, अथ, अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेशे विषयस्य देशो भेदस्य न दत्तस्तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. 'In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudātta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally 'saying (ādesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final च. Anvādeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याश् छात्राभ्याश् रात्रिर्धीता, सधौ आभ्याश् रात्रिर्धीताश् । 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix कर्तुम् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्मै छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, अथो अस्मै चाकटमपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्व छात्रस्य धीमन् वीर्यम्, अथो अस्व प्रभूत्वं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

so also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इमं छात्रं छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, अथो छात्रान्तरद्वयधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentences is not anvādeśa : it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here :—देवदत्तं पोषय, इमं च यजदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदासी ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतद्, त्र-तसौ : त्र तसौ, च, अनुदासी, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य अन्वादेशो भवति अनुदासकतसौ परतः ॥ यौ चापि त्रतयावनुदासौ भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes च (V. 3. 10) and तच् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes त्र and तव are anudatta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतश् 'hence' in the following :—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः; अथो अत्र सुता अधीनहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतन्माध्यात्राण्ड्योऽधीनश्च, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीनम् । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5. अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

द्वितीयाटौस्त्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्त्वे, एनः, (इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदासौ)

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया टा ओः इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोरन्वादेशविषययोरेव अन्वादेशो भवति अनुदासः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एतदिति अश् सकृद्वचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओश् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudatta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word वृत्त is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:— वृत्तं or वृत्तं छात्रं वृत्तदोऽप्यापय, अथो वृत्तं उवाच वृत्तदोऽप्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also, अनेन or वृत्तेन छात्रेण रात्रिरधीता 'अथो वृत्ते न रात्रिरधीत' this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' अथयोः or वृत्तयोः छात्रयोः योगेन वीत्यन्, अथो वृत्तयोः प्रभूतं वृत्तं 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth great.'

Want.—The word वृत्त neuter and singular, is also used in anvādeśa: as—इदं वृत्तं कुरु नानकं प्रयत्नयन् 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sūtra regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आहुं धातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदं स्ते ॥ आहुं धातुके ॥

पुक्तिः ॥ पक्तिः अहुं धातुके अहुं धातुके अहुं धातुके अहुं धातुके ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ardhadhātuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, 'that वृत्त is the substitute of वृत्त when सिद् follows.' The words 'when the affix is ārdhadhātuka' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the Ardhadhātuka सिद् namely the आशीर्षिक or the Benedictive mood, वृत्त is replaced by वृत्त, but not so in the Sārvadhātuka सिद् i. e., the Potential mood (विनिमित्त). Thus, Benedictive वृत्ताद् 'may he kill' but Potential वृत्ताद् let him kill.'

The word आहुं धातुके is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the sūtra does not mean 'when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being 'when the subject is an ārdhadhātuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any ārdhadhātuka-affix to अस् 'to be,' we must first substitute वृत्त for it, and then take the proper ārdhadhātuka-affix which would come with regard to वृत्त. Thus we can apply वृत्त to वृत्त by rule IIL 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels वृत्त is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to अस् which ends in a consonant. Thus we have वृत्तवृत्त. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but ārdhadhātuka-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्त्यसि किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, जग्धिः, ह्यप्-
ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदो जग्धिर्धादेर्दो भवति ह्यपि परस्मै हकारादो च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ह्यप् (VII. 1. 37) or an Ārdhadhātuka किति affix beginning with त follows.

प्रमाणम् 'Having eaten.' (अ + अद् + ह्यप् = अ + जग्धु + त्). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्त = जग्ध् + त्).

The द् in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal न् (जुव्). So also the द् in जग्धि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्त = जग्धः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ह्यप् in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of ह्यप् supersedes even antaraṅga rules' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ह्यप् which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्) in this rule, i. e., जग्ध् would (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्त and ह्यप् afterwards for क्त.

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त? Observe जग्धते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क्'? Observe जग्धक्यप्.

लुङ्सनोर्धस्तु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनीः, धस्तु (अदः,
आर्द्धधातु) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि धनि च परस्मैऽदो धस्तु आदेर्दो भवति ॥

भार्तिकम् ॥ धस्तु नादेऽनुपसर्गवानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows धस्तु is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

अधस्तु, अधस्तार्, अधस्त 'he ate.' The द् in धस्तु is servile and indicates the substitution of अद् for धित् of the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, जिधस्वति, जिधस्वतः जिधस्वन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

वार्त्तः—The verb अद् is replaced by ध् when the affix ध् follows. Thus अ + अद् + अद् = ध् + अद् = अधः 'voracious.'

अजपोष ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-अपोः, अ, (अदः, अस्त्, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि अचि च परतोऽदो अस्त् आदेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix अज् and अप् follow अस्त् is the substitute of अद.

पांशः 'food, grass,' अद्+अज्=पाश+अ (III. 3. 19). अचरः 'voracity.'
अ+अद्+अप्=अ+अच.

अहुलं अन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहुलं, अन्दसि, (अदः, अस्त्, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्दसि विषये अहुलगदो अस्त् आदेशो भवति ॥

39. In the *chhandas* (Vedas), अस्त् is diversely substituted for अद.

अस्ताम्नम् । अग्निवचने । (Yajur Veda Vaj S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आतामदा अन्तो मेव उद्भूतम्

The word अहुलं is used in this sūtra and the word अन्त्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the *anavritti* of अहुलं in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

अचिद् अद्विः अचिद्विद्विः, अचिद्विद्विः अचिद्विद्विः ।

विषेर्विषानं अहुया अनीयम्, आहुर्विच आहुलम् अद्विः ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in अस्ताम् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लिङ्गान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अन्त्यतरस्याम्, (अदः, अस्त्, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽदोऽन्यतरस्यां अस्त् आदेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows अस्त् is optionally the substitute of अद.

अवाच or आद 'he ate,' अवाहुः or आवाहुः 'they two ate,' अहुः or आहुः

(VI. 1. 8) = व + वत् + अतुः (VII. 4. 60) = व + वत् + अतुः (VII. 4. 62)
 = ज + वत् + अतुः (VIII. 4. 53) = ज + वत् + अतुः (VI. 4. 98.) = जवतुः (VIII.
 3. 60).

वेजो वयिः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेजः, वयि, (लित्यन्यतरस्याम्,
 आहुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेजो वयिरादेशो भर्वात अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of 'वेज् to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेज्. Then we have regulary वे + लिट् = वे + वत् = ववौ. The roots in ए, ऐ and ओ are treated like roots ending in आ thus:—

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	} In this case samprasāraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40
1. ववौ	वविव	वविव	
2. वविय or उवाय, ववयुः	वव	वव	
3. ववौ	ववतुः	ववतुः	

When however we take the base वय्, the व being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:— वय् + वत् = वय् + वत् + अ (VI. 1. 8) = उय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 17) = उवाय; the व is not changed into व by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वय् + अतुः = उय् + अतुः (VI. 1. 15) = उ + उय् + अतुः (VII. 4. 60) = उवतुः. The affix अतुः being किर affix by rule I. 2. 5 there is samprasāraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have उवाय, उवतुः, उवतुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before किर affixes व may be optionally substituted for व, i. e., उवतुः or उवतुः and उवतुः or उवतुः.

हनौ वध लिङि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, वध, लिङि (आहुः
 धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्भातोर्वधइत्यपवादो भवति लिङि परत आहुःधातुके ॥

42. वध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill' when the Ārdhadhātuka लिङ् (Benedictive) follows.

वध्यात् 'my he kill,' वध्यास्तात् 'may they two kill,' वध्यातुः 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वध्, ends with short अ/this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthānivat I. 1. 56), in forming the Aorist, लुङ्, we have अवध् + ० + ईत् = अवधीत्. Here zero being sthānivat prevents the vridhhi of अ of व which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि, च (हनो, बध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हनो बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, च् is the substitute of इत्.

अवधीत् 'he killed,' अवधीताम् 'they two killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sūtra (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्य-तरस्याम्, (हनो, बध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोक्त निरूप्ये प्राप्ते विकल्प उच्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हनो लुङ्यन्यतरस्यां बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, च् is optionally the substitute of इत् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus आबधित् or आहत; आबधिवाताम् or आहवाताम्; आबधिसत् or आहसत्.

The verb इत् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28) By sūtra I. 1.14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after इत् and by VI. 4. 37 the च् is elided before कित् affixes then by VIII. 2. 27 the इ is elided. Thus आइत् + कित् + त = आहत.

इषो ना लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषः, ना, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषो ना इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इषावदिक् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. ना is the substitute of the root इष् when लुङ् follows.

अगात् 'he went' (II. 4. 77) अगाताम् 'they two went' अगुः 'they all went.' The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sūtra though is anuvṛiti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, ना being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगवि भवता you, went.' The form अगन् is thus evolved च् + ना + कित् + त =, अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart:—ना is the substitute of इष् 'to remember' in the Aorist as it is of इष्. Thus अज्यनात् 'he remembered.' अज्यावाताम्, अज्यगुः. The root इष् belongs to Adādi class.

शौ गमिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौ, गमिः, अबोधने.
(इणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौ परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix णि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इङ् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going'.

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रत्याययति 'causes to believe.' अविगमयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इङ् to 'remember'; as, अविगमयति ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, च, (इणः, अबोधने
गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when च् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of इङ् when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्तः. But अर्थात् प्रतीक्षति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इङ्, as अविजिगमिषति. The yogavibhāga indicates that the anuvṛitti of च् only runs in the next sūtra and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; च् + गम् = गम् + गम् + च् (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गम् + च् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गम् च् (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गम् + इङ् + च् (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इङ्श्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्, च, (सनि, गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङ्श्च सनि परतो गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इङ् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when च् follows.

अविजिगमिषते, ० वेते, ० वन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इङ् is always preceded by the preposition अवि. This will be Atmanepadi by 1. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58. and VI. 4. 16.

गाङ् लिति ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्, लिति, (इङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ् इणो भवतीति लिति परतः ॥

49. गङ् is the substitute of इङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गङ् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, इ. Why has then this इ been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra 1. 2. 1. गङ् there should mean this substitute गङ् and not the verb गङ् 'to go.'

Thus we get अविजगते 'he studied'. अविजगते, अविजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लङोः (इङ्, वि, गङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लृङि च परत इङो विभाषा गङ्देशो भवति ॥

50. गङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् when लुङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गङ् replaces इङ्. The affixes of लुङ् and लृङ् are treated as लिट् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an ardhadhatuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or इ follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed वृ and of ना, स्वा, ना पा, दा, सी), we get अध्यगीहृ (अवि + अ + गी + लृट्), अध्यगीवाताम्, अध्यगीषत्. In the alternative we have अध्येहृ, अध्येवाताम् and अध्येषत्.

So also in लृङ्; as अध्यगीषत्, अध्यगीषेताम्, अध्यगीष्यत्, or in the alternative, अध्येषत्, अध्येषेताम् and अध्येष्यत्.

लौ च संरङ्ङो, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लौ, च, सन्-चङो, (इङ्, गङ्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लौ सन्चरे चङ् परे च परत इङो विभाषा गङ्देशो भवति ॥

51. गङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् in the causative लि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chan (Aorist:)

अविजिगापयिषति or अद्यापयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved : ना + लिङ् = नापि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix च्. अध्यगीगचद् or अद्यापिषद् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + लिङ् = इ + लिङ् = आ + लृट् = आचि. This rule applies to the desideratives and aorists of causatives.

अस्तेर् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्भातोर् इत्त्वनादेशो भवति आर्द्धपातुके ॥

52. *वृ* is the substitute of the verb *अस्* 'to be,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied

भविता 'he will be,' *भवितुम्* 'in order to be,' *भवितव्यम्* 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ârdhadhâtuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of *अस्* is therefore the same as that of *वृ*, namely, *वसूय* &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when *अस्* is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case *अस्* forms its Perfect tense regularly, *आस आसतुः आतुः* &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term *वृत्* in III. 1. 40 as a Pratyâhâra including *वृ*, *वृ* and *अस्*, and if *अस्* could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyâhâra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, *अस्* forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रुवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवो वचिनादेशो भवति आर्द्धपातुके विषये ॥

53. *वचि* is the substitute of *ब्रु* 'to speak' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' *वक्तुम्* 'in order to speak.' The *व* of *वचि* is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, *वच्* is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as *वचे* 'he spoke,' *वचयते* 'he will speak.'

वक्षिः स्वयञ् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वक्षिः, स्वयञ्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वक्षिः स्वयनादेशो भवति आर्द्धपातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्वयनादिस्वयनादेश इत्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वक्ष्ये प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तलोभ्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाह-लोपिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. *स्वयञ्* is the substitute of *वक्षि* 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

आस्वयता 'he will perceive or tell'; *आस्वयतुम्* 'in order to tell'; *आस्वयतव्यम्* 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, *वक्षि* being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), *स्वयञ्* would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter *ञ्* would have no scope; it therefore follows that *स्वयञ्* is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72

Vart :—This substitute is also said to begin with कृ instead of क. Thus आकृशाता, आकृशातुः, आकृशातम्.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्वनाः संभवताः bad men should be excluded.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes अर and अन follow : as दृक्चरा राक्षसः the Rākshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern दृक्चरः. The meaning of the root चृ here, is 'to injure.' So also विचंचरः परिव्रजः; here the affix is अन.

Vart :—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as अन्नम् 'food' (here the substitute अग्नि does not replace अह); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for हृ before वदुः); गात्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for हृ before the unādi affix हृ); विचंचरः (here चर is not replaced by रुच before अन); अजिरम् 'a court yard' (here अज is not replaced by उच as the next sūtra 56 requires.)

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिडः, रुच्यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतश्चक्षिडः रुचायादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. रुच्यञ् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिड् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The लिट् also is an ārdhadhātuka affix and by the last sūtra रुचा would always have been the substitute of चृ; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as आचरुवी, आचरुयतुः and आचरुतुः. In the alternative we have आचरुते, आचरुताते and आचरुतिरे 'he told &c.

अजेर्व्यञ्जपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः वी, अचञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्वातोर्वीत्ययनादेशो भवत्याहुंभातुके परतो वज्रपो वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वज्रपोः प्रतिषेधे वयम् उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वजादावाहुंभातुके विकल्प इत्यते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb अञ् 'to drive,' to lead; when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes चञ् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायकीयः.

Why do we say 'with the exception of चञ् and अप्'? Observe चञ् + अञ् + चञ् = चचाञ् 'society'; उदाञ् 'driving out.' So also with अप्, as वचञ् 'a multitude or herd of animals &c., उदञ् 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69

Why have we used वी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like प्रवायीः &c.

Vart :—Prohibition must also be stated (along with **बन्** and **बन्**) of the affix **बन्**, as **बन्** 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart :—The substitution is optional before *Ārdhādhātukas* beginning with a letter of **बल्** *Pratyāhāra* (all consonant except **व**) as **प्रवेता** or **प्राजिता** **प्रवेतु** or **प्राजितु**. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यी ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यी, (अजे: यी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यी बन्तुते अजेर्वा यी इत्यवनादीन्ते भवति ॥

57. **यी** is optionally the substitute of **बन्**, when the affix **उ** (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix **उ**, the word **उ** in the *Sūtra* referring to this affix; as, **प्रवयवः** or **प्राजनी दण्डः** 'driving stick or whip.'

**व्यहन्नियार्थजितो यूनि लुगसिञो ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्य-हन्निय-
जार्थ-जितः, यूनि, लुग्, अल्-इजोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वयान्तात् हन्नियमोत्रात् जार्थादजितं बन्तोरेजिञोर्न युन् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्राह्नमयोगनाद्या तु वप्रत्ययवत्योरसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the *Gotra* affix **व** (IV. 1. 151) and after a *Gotra* word denoting the descendant of a *Kshatriya* or a *Rishi* (seer), and after a word a word ending with a *Gotra* affix having an indicatory **न्**, the affix **बन्** and **इन्** employed in forming **उवन्** (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of **लुग्** ॥

1. Thus by *sūtra* IV. 1. 151 (the affix **व** comes after **कुरु** &c., in denoting descendant) we get **कुरु + व** = **कौरव्यः** (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a *Gotra* word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a *Yuvan* affix. Thus **कौरव्य + इन्** (IV. 1. 95). Now this **इन्** is elided by the present *sūtra*, and we get the form **कौरव्यः** which thus means both a *Gotra* and a *Yuvan* (IV. 1. 163) descendant of Kuru. So that **कौरव्यः** is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected : 'the word **कौरव्यः** belongs to the *तिक्कादि* class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix **फिज्**. Do we, what we may, the form will be **कौरव्यायजिः** (VII. 1. 2.) To this we reply, the word **कौरव्यः** which we see in that list of *तिक्* &c., is not the word **कौरव्यः** which we formed by adding **व** under rule IV. 1. 151; that *Tikādi* word is formed by adding **व** under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to *Kshatriya*. The **कौरव्यः** which we have taken, denotes a *Brahmin* *Gotra* formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix अव् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family, is a Kshatriya family, and अवकारकः is a person of that family. Then $\text{अवकारक} + \text{अव्} = \text{अवाकरकः}$ 'a descendent of Svaphalka' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have $\text{अवाकरक} + \text{यव्}$. Now this यव् must be elided by the present sūtra. So that अवाकरकः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः ; and $\text{वसिष्ठ} + \text{अव्} = \text{वसिष्ठः}$; the Yuvan affix यव् will similarly be elided after his; and thus the word वसिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory न् . Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix अव् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendants.' Thus $\text{विद्} + \text{अव्} = \text{वेदः}$; Then add यव् to denote Yuvan descent; and we have $\text{वेदः} + \text{यव्}$. By the present rule this यव् is elided and thus we have वेदः both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix यव् . Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अव् . Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix अव् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus $\text{विद्} + \text{अव्} = \text{वैकावनिः}$ (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add अव् by IV. 1. 83. Thus $\text{वैकावनि} + \text{अव्}$. By the present sūtra, this अव् is elided, and we have वैकावनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:—'The affix अव् comes after विद् &c., in forming Gotra.' $\text{कीदृक्} + \text{अव्} = \text{कीदृक्}$. Now this is neither a word formed by अव् nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having व् goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix यव् will not be elided after this. Thus $\text{कीदृक्} + \text{यव्}$ (IV. 1. 95) कीदृक् 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथः are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: $\text{वामरथ} + \text{यव्} = \text{वामरथ्याः}$ 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add अव् by IV. 2. 111. Thus $\text{वामरथ्या} + \text{अव्} = \text{वामरथ्याः}$ 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अव् and यव् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दक्ष) will be दाक्षायकः. Here the affix कङ् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart:—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as वीचिः applies equally to father and son; जाबालिः father, जाबालिः son; औदुम्बरिः father, औदुम्बरिः son; वायडीजङ्घेः father, वायडीजङ्घेः son. Here, first इङ् is added by IV. 1. 173, then कङ् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this कङ् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ यदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (युनि, लुग-शिञीः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च युवप्रत्ययस्य इङ् नञति ॥

59 And after the words पैल &c. there is the युन elision of the युवन affix.

पैला + अच = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + किञ् (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix किञ् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इङ्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. वासकि. 3. वासकि. 4. वासकानि. 5. राक्षि. 6. राक्षि. 7. औदम्बि. 8. औदम्बि. 9. औदम्बेचि. 10. औदम्बिङ्. 11. औदम्बिङ्. 12. औदम्बिङ्. 13. वैवस्वानि. 14. वैवस्वानि. 15. राक्षि. 16. औदम्बि. 17. राक्षि. 18. औदम्बि. 19. औदम्बिङ्. 20. औदम्बिङ्. 21. औदम्बिङ्. 22. तद्वासाच्यः. 23. तद्वाङ्.

इजः प्राचाम् ॥ ६० ॥ यदानि ॥ इजः, प्राचाम्; (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजे च इङ् तद्वासाद्युवप्रत्ययस्य इङ् नञति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इङ् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागर + इङ् = पान्नागरिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannāgara'; after this the Yuvan affix कङ् (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागरिः is both the father and the son. So पान्नागरेचिः father and son. The word प्राचा here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prāchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः 'and. दाक्षायकः' 'son of Dākshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (यूनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्वादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न लुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former; formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. धारलि. 3. पारलि. 4. रावलि. 5. दैलीपि.
6. दैवलि. 7. बार्कलि. 8. नैवलि. 9. नैवकि. 10. देवनिमि. 11. दैवमति.
12. दैवयति. 13. चाकटकि. 14. वैल्वकि. 15. वैति. 16. वैडि. 17.
- आनुहारति. 18. आनुराहति. 19. पौष्करसादि. 20. आनुरोहति. 21. आनुति.
22. प्रदोहनि. 23. नैमिजि. 24. प्राडाहति. 25. बान्धकि. 26. वैशीति.
27. आसिनादि. 28. आहिवि. 29. आहुरि. 30. नैमिषि. 31. आसिबन्ध कि
32. पौष्पि. 33. कारेणुपालि. 34. वैकणि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैहति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजस्यस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव वेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. 1. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अङ्ग + अङ् (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गाः the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अङ् is elided by present rule, and the Vriddhi vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But म्रियवाङ्गः 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural म्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vaṅga,' there being no elision.

यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रेः (बहुषुः तेनैवास्त्रियाम् : लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कं इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्वास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव वेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अण् = यस्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the decedents of Yaska.'

॥ यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क. 2. लङ्. 3. हुङ्. 4. अयस्युङ्.* 5. अयः स्युङ्. 6. युष्कर्ष. 7. सदानस. 8. कन्वलहार. 9. बहिर्याङ्. 10. कर्षाढक. 11. पर्षाढक. 12. पियरी ऋङ्. 13. वक्वस्य. 14. वक्वक्ष. 15. वित्रि. 16. कुत्रि. 17. अजवस्ति. 18. चित्रयु. 19. रघोजुङ्. 20. जङ्गारय. 21. उत्कास. 22. कटुक. 23. नयक. 24. नन्थक. 25. पुष्करट्. 26. पुष्करसट्. 27. विषपुट. 28. उपरिसेवत. 29. क्रोष्टुक्मान. 30. क्रोष्टुमान. 31. क्रोष्टुपाद. 32. क्रोष्टुनाय. 33. शीर्षनाय. 34. श्वरप. 35. पदक. 36. वपुङ्. 37. भलन्दन. 38. भडिल. 39. भविडल. 40. भडित. 41. भविडल.

यज्जोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-अजोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनैवालुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजोऽजञ् गोत्रप्रत्ययरूपं बहुषु वर्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यजादोनानेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे बहुषा उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यज् (IV. I. 105) and अज् (IV. I. 104) when the word is itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यज् = गार्ग्यः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः. Similarly, विद + अज् = वैदः (IV. I. 104); plural विदाः and not वैदाः; similarly शीर्व singularly; शीर्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, मिदगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved;' मिदवैदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः, वैदः, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यज् = द्वैप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वैप्याः; here the affix यज् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अज् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यज् and अज् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यैस्व कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं. गार्ग्ययोः कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं.

Similarly वैदस्य or वैदयोः कुलं = वैदकुलं or विदकुलं.

Why do we say 'the affixes यञ् or अञ्'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुंस्य compound; such as आङ्गकुलं ।

Why do we say 'singular or dual, ?' Because in the plural तत्पुंस्य compounds, these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं .

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुंस्य compound' ? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ग्य which is an आचवयीभाव compound, meaning गार्गस्य सचीयं. Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुंस्य that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्त्तव्यारय तत्पुंस्य &c., as परतगार्ग्यः ।

अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-
भृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-आङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभ्यादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ गोतम आङ्गिरस there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + इक IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is आत्रेयः, the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural वृक्षवः; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्सवः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, आङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + अञ् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इक् and अञ् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयो भार्गवौ; plural आत्रेयः वृक्षवः &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus त्रिवित्रेयाः or त्रिविभार्गवाः ।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus :—आत्रेय्यः ।

बह्वच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इजः प्राच्य-
भरतेषु, (बहुषु लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच प्रातिपदिकादय इक विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इक् (IV., I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of यन्मागारिः is यन्मागारः, there being elision of यङ्: so also संशरेषवाः plural of सान्शरेषविः; so the plural of यौषिष्ठिरिः is दुषिष्ठिरा 'the descendents of Yudhishtira'. But वैकिः and यौष्टिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्यः and यौष्ट्यः.

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाङ्गयः plural of बालाङ्गिः, हस्तिदास्यः plural of हस्तिदासिः.

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनिः father, आर्जुनायनः son.

न गोपयनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-वन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपवनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवन + वज् = गोपवनः; plural गोपवनाः; singular यैवन्, plural यैवनाः. The गोपवन &c., belong to Vidādi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवन, यिगु, विन्तु, सज्य, अश्च, चंवतान, द्यापक and द्यापर्ज. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंदायाः &c.

तिक्कितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि । तिक्-कितव-
यादिभ्यः, द्वन्द्वे; (बहुलुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक् कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक् + कित् = तिकावनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तिकावनयः तिकावनयः + कितवावनयः = तिक्कितवाः. There is elision of कित्. So also वांशरिः plural वांशरयः (IV. 1. 95) + भारङ्गीरयः = वांशरमङ्गीरवाः; there is elision of यङ् (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिक्कितवाः 2. वांशरमङ्गीरवाः 3. उपकलशकाः (यौपकाङ्गनाः + काशकाङ्गनाः. IV. 1. 99, elision of यङ्) 4. पक्कनरकाः (पाकनयः + नारकयः.

IV. 1. 95, elision of इञ्). वक्तव्यमुदप्रतिष्ठाभाः, 6. उञ्जककुभाः (औञ्जयः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, then the elision of इञ् and अञ्). 7. लङ्घान्त-जुलाः (the elision of इञ् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकटाः (औरसायनयः IV. 1. 154 + लांकटयः IV. 1. 95, elision of किञ् and इञ्. 9. अष्टक कपिष्टलाः (elision of इञ् as in 4). 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णमुद्रराः (elision of इञ्). 11. अग्नेवेद्य—दाधिरकाः (आग्निवेद्यः IV. 1. 105 + दाधिरकयः IV. 1. 95, elision of both यञ् and इञ्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-अदिभ्यः,
अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गीतप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वं वा द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c., there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. The elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, अष्टककपिष्टलाः, कृष्णाजिन-कृष्णमुद्रराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of कामकायनः is कामकाः or कामकायनाः; of अष्टक is अष्टकाः or अष्टकयः. The plural of कापिष्टलः is कदिष्टलाः or कापिष्टलयः. The plural of काष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or काष्णाजिनयः. The plural of कृष्णमुद्ररः is कृष्णमुद्रराः or कर्णमुद्ररयः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow :—

1. पयहारक. 2. अयहारक. 3. गहुक. 4. सुपर्यकः 5. सुपिष्ट. 6. नयूरकर्ष. 7. पारीजङ्घ. 8. यलाबल. 9. पतञ्जल. 10. कटेरणि. 11. कुपीतक. 12. कायकूरल. 13. निदाघ. 14. कलशकीकण्ठ. 15. दामकण्ठ. 16. कृष्णपिंगल. 17. कर्षक. 18. पर्यक. 19. जटिलक. 20. वधिरक. 21. कन्तुक. 22. अनुलोभ. 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक. 24. प्रतिलोभ. 25. प्रतान. 26. अनभिहित. (27. चूटारक. 28. उमङ्क. 29. सुधायुक्त. 30. अवन्धक. 31. पदङ्कज. 32. अनुपद. 33. अवजम्ब. 34. कनक. 35. लेखात्र. 36. कनन्दक. 37. पिष्टल. 38. नयूरकर्ष. 39. निदाघ. 40. कदामल. 41. दामकण्ठ) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥

अगस्त्य-कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अशी यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरको यञश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति परिशिष्टस्य प्रकृतिभागस्य यथासंख्यमस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येवादिभ्यो भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes **अङ्** and **बङ्** of the words **आगस्त्य** and **कौण्डिन्य**, when they take the plural; and the words **अगस्ति** and **कुण्डिन्य** are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of **आगस्त्य** is **अगस्तयः** (as if it was the plural of **अगस्ति**) and of **कौण्डिन्यः** is **कुण्डिनाः**. The affix **अङ्** (IV. I. 114) after **आगस्त्य** and the affix **बङ्** (IV. 1. 105) after **कौण्डिन्य** are elided.

The **च** in **कुण्डिन्य** is indicatory and regulates the accent (IV. 1. 103); the word **कुण्डिन्य** has udātta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in **आगस्तीयारक्षा** (IV. 1. 89) **कौण्डिन्यारक्षा** (IV. 2. III.)

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्त्यर्थानुसङ्गायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (**धातु**) when it is made a denominative verb. As **पुत्रीयति** (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (1. 2. 46); as **कष्टहितः** 'having recourse to pain.' **राजपुरुषः** 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus **पुत्रश्च दच्छति** = **पुत्रीयति**, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. **कष्टहितः** = **कष्टयति** &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of: **धातु** or **प्रातिपदिक**?

Because when it gets any other name, such as **अङ्** &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus **वृषः**, **इषः** ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उच्चरस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb **अद्** 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa **अप्** (III. 1. 68).

Thus **अद्+अप्+ति**=**अस्ति** 'he eats'; **हन्ति** 'he kills'; **द्वेष्टि** he envies. The Adādi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये अपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa यप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adadi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adadi verbs. As वृत्रं हनति 'he kills Vritra.' हप् + यप् + ति = हनति instead of हन्ति. So also, अग्निः शक्ते instead of शक्ते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikaraṇa यप् has not been elided.

In some cases the यप् is elided as आचवर् नो देवाः instead of आयचवर् ॥

यज्ञोऽग्नि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञः, अग्नि, च, (लुम् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञे लुग् भवति अग्नि प्रदये परतः, पञ्चारेण बहुलं न हसनलुक् पठते नत छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यञ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यञ् when other affixes than अच् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोचुवः 'much cutter' (लोचुव + अच्); पोषुवः 'much purifier' उनीत्रवः from च्वञ् 'to drop.' इनीच्ववः from च्वञ् 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यञ् is elided before other affixes than अच्: thus आकुनिनी आसवीति इन्द्रभिषीयदीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-आदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. After the verbs 'to sacrifice' and others, there is slu-elision of the Vikaraṇa यप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyadi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also विभेति 'he fears.' विभेति from निष् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः म्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is slu-elision of यप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति मिषाति (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' पाति instead of दपाति.

So also there is ślu-elision of the vikarāṇas after roots other than those belonging to the Jāhotyādi class. Thus; **प्राचीं विवक्षि, जनिन विवक्षि.**

गतिस्त्र्याचुर्पाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥

गति-स्या-चु-पा-भूभ्यः, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गति स्या च पु पा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्मै विभो लुग् भवति परस्मै पदेषु परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गायो ग्रहणे इवपिबत्यो ग्रहणम् ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs ग 'to go,' स्या 'to stand,' the verbs called च (I. 1. 20), पा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

ग is the substitute of गृह् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्यात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अपात् 'he held,' अपात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart :—The verbs ग and पा in the aphorism mean the ग 'to go' (which is the substitute of गृह्, and not गै 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and पा 'to drink' and not पा 'to protect.' The verbs ग 'to sing' and पा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अपासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगावावां प्राप्नो देवदत्तेन.

विभाषा प्राचेद्शाकासः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, प्रा-चेद्-शा-कासः, (सिचः परस्मै विभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रा चेद् वा का वा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचः परस्मैपदेषु विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs प्रा 'to smell,' चेद् 'to drink,' वा (घो) 'to pare,' का (घो) 'to cut,' and वा (घो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus अग्रात् or अग्रासीत् 'he smelled,' अपात् or अपासीत् 'he drank,' अवात् or अवासीत् 'he pared,' अकात् or अकासीत् 'he cut' and अवात् or अवासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अग्रावावां पुनप्राप्नो देवदत्तेन ॥

The root घृह् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-थासोः,
(सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचस्तथासोः परतो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् to expand and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त् and चाच् of the second person follow.

Thus अ त (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष्ट 'he expanded,' अतथाः or अतनिष्टाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly असात or अतनिष्ट he gave,' असाथाः or अतनिष्टाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष्ट वृषस् 'you did expand.'

मन्त्रे घसन्ह्वरशशब्दहाद्, कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥
मान्त्रे-घस ह्वर-शश-वृ-दह-आत्-वृ-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये घस इर शश वृ दह आत् वृ कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य ले लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (६ Perfect), after the verbs वृच् 'to eat' इर 'to be crooked,' शश 'to destroy' वृ 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दह 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from घस we have अघन in the sentence, अघन् पितरो ऽग्नी नदन्त पितरो ऽग्नीवृषन्त पितरः पितरः शुभेभ्यस् (Yajurveda XIX 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb इर we have आहर्निस्तस्य तवच्. From नश we have प्रशक् in the following verse आनः अंसो अररयो वृत्तिः प्रशक्नत्यस्य । रवा शीघ्रशरूपते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sūtra includes both वृह् and वृज्, as the word वेन in the following वृह् जहान् प्रभुनं पुरस्ताद्विही नतः सुवचो वेन आवः । सतु घ्न्या पुना तस्य विद्वाः नदह योनि नृतह वि दः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From दह we have आधक् as in सरस्वत्युमिनो नेषि वस्यो मापस्फरीः पयसा नान् आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आह means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, निजः देवानामुदगादनीकं चतुर्नितस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आमा अमावा पुषिषी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगत्तस्य ह ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच gives us वर्ज् as in the following verse:—ना नो अस्ति-ज्जहाचमे परा वृच् पौरुषस्याया । वंशे वंशे वंशे जयः ॥ (Rig. VIII. 75. 12).

From कृ we have कृत् as in the following verse कृत् कर्त्तुं कर्त्तुं
कृतः सद्यः वाचा नदी भुवा । दे. वे. यः कर्त्तुं कृत्वास्तु प्रेतं वचाभुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47)

From नम we have नमन्; as in the following verse: वृत्तेन वतं
वृत्तिर्वसवो स्वेरमिं प्रादुर्वांसो अमुन्मन् । इत्यतनग्निं इत्यतः वृद्धं विद्वद्वा वीद्विवांसं ॥
(Rig. VI. 1. 1)

From जन we have जन्त as जन्त वा अन्त वन्तः. This is an example
from the Brāhmaṇ literature, as the word जन् in the sūtra refers also to
the Brāhmaṇ literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (लेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्य ले लङ् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that
tense-affix (लि) which comes after आच् of the Perfect.

आच् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहांचके 'he endea-
voured. Here, after the verb ईहाच् all tense-affixes are elided, and the
Perfect of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly ऊहांचके, ईहांचके ॥

अठ्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अठ्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अठ्ययादुत्तरस्वापः सुपञ्च लुङ् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine
termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or
Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र गालावाच् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,
does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to
तस्याच् 'in that.' So also कृत्वा 'having done' हित्वा &c. Here the case-
affix is elided.

नाठ्ययीभावादतोऽमृत्वपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अठ्ययी-
भावात्, अतः, अम्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तादठ्ययीभावादुत्तरस्य सुपो न लुङ् भवति, अभादेष्टु तस्य सुपो भवत्य-
पञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix
after an Avyayi-bhāva compound that ends in अ, आच्, is the
substitute of its case-affixes, but not went it is the fifth case-
affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last
sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आच् added to the words ending in
short अ; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1. 6; as उपकुम्भं तिष्ठति 'upakum-
bha is standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayibhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अविस्ती, अधिहुनारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अच् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानय.

तृतीया सप्तम्योर्वहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अम् अठययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्विभक्तयोर्वहुलनभावो भवति अठययीभावे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या अङ्गि नदी समास संख्यावयवयो नित्यमिति चत्तययम् ॥

84. The change to अच् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निषेदि or उपकुम्भम् निषेदि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart.—The अच् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, पुनदम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; पुनगम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly चत्तमम् 'well or prosperous with the Chittas'; एकविंशतिमारुह्यम्. The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vartika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डा-रीरसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटादेशस्य प्रथमपुंसस्य परस्मैपदस्वात्मनेपदस्य च डा री रच् इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, री and रच् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लुट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do,' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepade we have अच्चेता, अच्चेतारी, अच्चेतारः.

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe इयः कर्तादि । रवोऽच्चेतादि ॥

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

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प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ चतुर्णाचवायपरिहृणानिर्वाणित ऊर्ध्वमनुकनिष्पदानः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः,
मङ्गलपदोपाधिविह्वारानाम्पर्ववित्ता ॥

I. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get this name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as *उप्*, *तिङ्*, *कित्* in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix, being *उन्*), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as *स्तम्भ* *यङ्कृत* in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as *चटु* in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word *हरति* is a prakṛiti, वृत्ति and नाय are upapadas, चटु is an upādhi, the affix being *हन्*, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes *तव्यत्*, *तव्य*, *अनीयत्* taught in III. 1. 96, as *कर्तव्यम्*, *करणीयम्* 'to be done'

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च च भवति चातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा वः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms ; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣhā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form ; as *कर्तव्यम्* and *देवतरीयम्*.

The force of the word 'च' 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c ; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च च भवति वः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

The sūtra may also be treated as 'a Paribhāṣhā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix *तव्य* has udātta on the first च, as in *तव्यत्*. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI, 1. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udatta on the final; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. 1. 217); those that have an indicatory ष are anudatta; those having an indicatory ञ throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193); the affixes having an indicatory ञ and र throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. 1. 197); the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 165); and the affix having an indicatory ण is svarita (VI. 1. 185).

अनुदात्तोऽनुपिपत्तौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तो, उप-पिपत्तौ, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपः पितरच प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory च (pit) are anudatta.

This is an exception (āpavāda) to the last aphorism. As हृदौ 'two stones'; the case-affix औ is anudatta; so also हृदः; so also पचति; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory च, and is anudatta. But not पचतः.

उपतिङ्किट्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-तिङ्किट्भ्यः, सन् (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप गोपने, तिङ् निधाने, कित् निवासे, स्तेभ्यो चातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाद्यन्त्यादिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निध्यतेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राहं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs उप, तिङ् and कित् comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As उपुपचते 'he censures or despises'; तिङ्तिङ्चते 'he endures patiently'; कित्कित्चते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects'; तेजयति 'he sharpens'; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. 1. 9. Thus, उप + सन् = उपुप + च (VII. 4. 62.) = उपुपच to which is added the third person singular termination अते = उपुपचते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्बधदान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान् पुत्रायाम्, बध वन्दने, दान् अवसरदने, शान् अवलोकने, इत्येतेभ्यो चातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चेकारस्य दीर्घादिभ्यो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रापि सन्निध्यतेऽन्यत्र इत्येते ॥

6. The affix **ञ्** comes after the verbs **मान** 'to honor', **बध्** 'to bind', **दान** 'to cut' and **घान** 'to whet', and long **ई** is the substitute of the **इ** (VII. 4 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The **ञ्** is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below: **बीभाञ्चते** 'he investigates', **बीभश्चते** 'he loathes', **दीदाञ्चते** 'he straightens', **दीदाञ्चते** 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of **ञ्** becomes optional. Thus **मानयति वाचयति**, **दानयति** and **निघा नयति** are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ३ ॥ यदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा (सन, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टिर्कर्मणो यो धातुर्दिशिष्येव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायानर्थं वा च् प्रत्ययो भवति वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्क्यापुनस्तस्यानर्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छायन्ततात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

भवति ॥

7. The affix **ञ्** is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished for, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, **कृ** 'to do'; **चिकीर्षति** = **अर्तुमिच्छति** 'he wishes to do. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix **ञ्** is to be added. Thus **प्रकर्तुं मेच्छत्** = **प्राचिकीर्षत्**.

Why do we say **कर्मणः** 'after (a root 'expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus **गमनेनेच्छति**; here there is no affix. But **गन्तुमिच्छति** will be **जिगमिषति**.

Why do we say **समानकर्तृकात्** 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe **देवदत्तस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः**. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb **इच्छति**; but he is not agent of the action **भोजनं**; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say **इच्छायाम्** 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe **कर्तुं जानाति** 'he knows how to make'; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word **वा** 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus **कर्तुं निच्छति** or **चिकीर्षति**

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this च् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the च् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart:—The affix च् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as बङ्गे च्चतिच्यति कूलम् = चिचतिच्यति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also द्वाङ्गुर्धति.

Vart: There is no affixing of च् after a verb which has already taken च् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the च् of III. 1. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुषुषिषते नीर्गाचिषते.

सुच आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मणश्चिचिरेवात्मनसंविधिनः सुवन्तादिच्छायात्मनो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ क्यचि ज्ञान्ताव्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि चरेच्छायास्मिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished for as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33)-

Why do we use the word सुप् ? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in अथान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रच् and not अथान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *ātmanah*? Observe राज्ञःपुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The च in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyan* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra च् चये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. 1. 3.

Vart:—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in च् and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, तस्मैरिच्छति, there is no affixing.

Vart:—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As वा त्वा इवा अवायवो विद्न्. Here अवायु (pl. अवायवः) is

formed by *kyach*, क being added by III. 2. 170, and का is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 20. 7; 27. 3. &c.

काम्यच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेपद्यायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished for as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाञ्चति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛitti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicative, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicative, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making it indicative. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicative च before it i.e. the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रनिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'.

Var. : So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीयति कुट्टये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यकीयति नचके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यङ् लोपोश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, लोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्तुः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारश्च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आपारेऽयमस्मृतीवदोऽर्थः विग्रहा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चर्चप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final च of the noun, if it ends with a च.

Thus, रवेनेवाचरन्नि काकः, रवेनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarā'; चयस्यते or चयायते it becomes milk'; (रवेन + च = रवेना + य = रवेनाच, VII. 4. 25).

In the words शोभन्—शोभायते, and अप्सरस्—अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb; but not so in the case of चयस् where the elision is optional, as चयायते or चयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसायते; चारु—चारुसायते; here the च is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1, 52.

Vart:—After the words अवगच्छन्, क्लीब, and होद्, the affix क्तिप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगच्छन्ते or अवगच्छन्नायते, क्लीबन्ते or क्लीबन्नायते, होद्गते or होद्गन्नायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of kyan.

Vart:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्तिप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अवगच्छति or अवगच्छायते, गर्दभन्ति or गर्दभायते.

भृशदिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः, भुवि, अच्चेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽचच्चेर्भ्यो भुवि सक्त्वर्थे क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्त्यानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यच् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश् and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्च (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अमुको भृशो भवति = भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I.3.12).

The phrase अच्चेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix च्च', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्च itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix च्चि, will not again take क्यच् in that very sense. The repetition of च्चि here shows that the words भृश् &c. never take the affix च्चि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50. which ordains च्चि-

भृशादिः ।

भृश्, श्रीश्, मन्द चपल, परिहृत, उत्तमुक्, उन्मनश्, अनिमनश्, कुनमश्, दुन्मनश्, रदश्, रेदश्, वश्यत्, वदश्, वेदश् नृपत्, मुधि, ज्वर, क्रोडश्, वर्चश्, (विनमश्, रमश्, रोदश्, हश्, झश्चिश्, खरजश्) ।

लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यच् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-

डाज्भ्यः क्यच्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्यर्थे क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यच् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाच् (V. 4, 57), when these words do not take the affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata', (लोहित+य=लोहिता+य=लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *adi*, as लोहितादिभ्यः क्यच्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohitā*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the क्ति affix क्यच् while क्यच् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्णयति or वर्णयते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, कषणायति or कषणायते, कृषायति or कृषायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील हरित, पीठ, नद्र, केन, मन्द.

The indicatory क in क्यच् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guna* and *vriddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guna* or *vriddhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sārvaadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. The affix क्यच् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guna* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यच् and क्यच् in one class as क्य; as in sūtra नःक्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three 'अच्, भू, or कृ'; as पटपटाकरोति, or -भवति -स्वात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्यच् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or अच्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू or अस्ति.

The anuvritti of अच्येः comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix क्यच् is added in the sense of अनुवृत्तत्वाच्च i. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी सनयात् क्रमणस्योनाज्जे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तकष्टकष्टकृच्छगद्वेभ्यः क्यवचिकीर्षयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14 The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय क्रमणे क्रानति=कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart :—The affix क्यङ् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सज्ज, कष्ट कथ, कृच्छ्र and बहल; as, सजायते, कष्टायते, कथायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil' the affix is not added, as अजः कष्टं क्रानति.

कर्मणो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्थ-तपोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्थशब्दात्तयःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरर्थयोः क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हनुचक्षन् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तवसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यङ् is employed after the words, रोमन्थ 'ruminating' and तवस् 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति=रोमन्थायते गौः 'the cow ruminates'.

Vart :—This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, कीटो रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति.

Vart :—The Parasmaipada affixes are used after the word तवस्; as तवस्वरति=तवस्यति, 'he performs austerity'.

वाष्पोष्मभ्यामुद्गमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाष्प-ऊष्मभ्यां, उद्गमने,
(कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाष्पपशब्दाद्वाष्पशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्गमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, वाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; उष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also केनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहाभूकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-
कलह-अभू-कण्व-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभू कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अटाट्टागीकाकोटापोटासोटाकट्टाग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz.—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभू 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति=शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभूयते, कण्वायते, मेघायते ।

Vart :—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार; as, सुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

Vart :—So also should be included the words अटा, अट्टा, गीका, कोटा, पोटा, सोटा and कट्टा; as अट्टायते, अट्टायते, गीकायते, कोटायते, सोटायते, पोटायते, and कट्टायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,
कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखद्वयवैषमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुश्चे-
त्कर्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure', &c., when the pleasure &c., belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure'; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent'? Observe सुखं देवदत्तः प्रदायको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master.' Deva-datta'. Here the agent, viz., a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, तृप्त, गहन, कृच्छ, अस्, असीक, प्रतीप, करण, कृपण, रोद ।

नमोवरिवचित्रङः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङ् इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे प्रज्ञादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz.—नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवात्, 'he worships the gods'; वरिवस्यति युक्त, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The इ in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + व = चित्री + व (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय.

पुच्छभाण्डचीवराणशिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्, शिङ्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो शिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डात्समाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix शिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz.—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उत्पुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail, (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सत्पाण्डायते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरायते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix शिङ् the effective portion is ङ, the other letters are servile. The इ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ङ serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing ङ, such as शिङ्, चिङ् &c.

Vart:—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart :—After भावः the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart :—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुरडनिमिश्रलवणलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥
पदानि ॥ मुरड-निमिश्र-लवण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्,
(करणे) ॥

हृत्तिः ॥ मुरड निमिश्रलवण-लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्ते इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच् in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुरड, 'shaving', निमिश्र 'mixture', लवण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र, 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्ते 'matted hair'.

Thus मुरडयति 'he shaves'; निमिश्रयति 'he mixes'; लवणयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; चोद्यति 'he fasts on milk'; संवलयति 'he covers with clothes, i. e., dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तेयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयेर व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषलाणं व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by low caste', after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हल and कल the sense is that of taking; as हलिं गृह्णाति=हलयति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were चङ्; i. e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अकलयत् and अकलयत्; and not अलीकलयत् and अलीकलयत् which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word व्रत means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातीरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमनिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥
धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः क्रिया-समनिहारे यङ् ॥

हृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् यो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमनिहारे यत्ते तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, यौनपुण्य भूयार्थो वा क्रियासमनिहारः ।

वार्त्तिः ॥ सुचिस्त्रिभुवद्वयवृत्त्युत्पत्तिनां ग्रहणं यद् विधावनेकाग्रहलाभ्यर्थम् ॥

22. The affix **वृ** in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhihāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As **पच्** 'to cook', **पाचयते** 'he cooks again and again'; **ज्वालयते** 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like **गट्** 'to go', (because the root **गट्** is preceded by the *upasarga* **प्र**); or **जागृ** 'to be awake', (because it contains two vowels); or **ईक्ष्** 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart :—The intensive affix **वृ** comes after **सुचि**, **वृजि**, **वृजि**, **वृटि**, **वृति**, **वृष** and **वृष**, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, **सोचयते**, **सोचयते**, **नोचयते**, **अटाटयते**, **अरायते**, **अशायते**, and **प्रोषानयते**.

The affix is not added in these cases **भृशं** **शोभते** or **भृशं** **रोचते**, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have **रोचयते** and **शोचयते**.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the termination of the *Ātmanepada* as the root is **ङि**.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गतौ,

(यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनान्तातोः कौटिल्ये गन्वन्तानि नित्यं यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix **वृ** invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus **क्रव्** 'to move', **क्रवयते** 'he moves crookedly'. So also **वृन्दयते**. After a verb of motion, the **वृ** never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as **भृशं** **क्रानति** 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word **नित्य** used in the *sūtra* i. e. **वृ** always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजमदहदंशगुभ्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

लुप-सद-चर-जप-जम-दंश-गुभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जम दह दंश गु हत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायो यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix **वृ** when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (**गर्हा**) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाक्) comes always after the following roots, viz — छृप् 'to cut off', चद् 'to sit', चर् 'to walk', जप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जप् 'to gape or yawn', दद् 'to burn', दश् 'to bite' and घृ 'to swallow'.

Thus लोछृपयते 'he cuts off badly'; साचद्यते 'he sits badly'; चञ्चरयते 'he walks badly'; जञ्जपयते 'he recites badly'; so also जञ्जभ्यते, दञ्जद्वयते, विजजययते. The affix यच् does not come in the sense of repetition, &c., after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृशं लुपति 'he cuts off much',

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus सन्तं जपति दृषलः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपबीजातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो
शिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-बीजा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-
त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, शिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च शिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अयं वेदसत्यानामापुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix शिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sūtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', बीजा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army', लोम 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin', वर्म 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churādi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपबीजयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपरलोचयति 'he praises in verse'; अभिवेशयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलोचयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; चर्मवर्णयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; जपचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the Churādi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupāṭha. After the verbs of the Churādi class, the affix शिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति,

Vart:—The words अर्थ वेद and वदय take the augment आप् before the affix चिच्, as, वदयाचयति, अर्थाययति, वेदाययति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आप् + चिच् + वच् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + इ + कति = अर्थायि + कति = अर्थाययति (VII. 3. 86). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, i. e., of अर्थाय् the syllable आप् is not elided before चिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix चिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word वाच, of 'seeing' after वच्, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after हृक्, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after घ्रात्, of 'taking' after त्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्त्त and of 'taking' after वर्त्त.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, चिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीये व्यापारः प्रेषणादिलक्षणे हेतुमाद् तस्मिन् लक्षणे धातोर्चिच् प्रत्यये। भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयत्यादायर्त्तम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आहवानात्कृतस्तदाचष्ट इति चिच् कृल्लुक् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आहूतोपरच कालात्यन्तसंयोगे स्यादावाच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चिञ्जीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञप्रयोगे हि ॥

26. The affix चिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing*, &c., is called *hetumat* as कृत कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked. In other words, the affix चिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the word सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sūtra.' So also सूत्रयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृत affixes and describing legends, comes the affix चिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्रकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधविनाशयते = कंसं धातयति; बलिबन्धनाशयते = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमननाशयते = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रिबिम्बार्त्तं आचष्टे = आरात्रिबिम्बाचयति; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vārtika the affix चिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो नाहिमत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते = सूर्योद्गमयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Var :— When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix णिच् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुण्ययोगं जानाति = पुण्येण बोधयति. So also सचाभियोजयति.

कण्डूवादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूञ् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डू 'to itch', &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डू; &c, are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्डूवादिः ।

कण्डूञ्, सन्तु, हृषीञ् वल्लु, अल्ल, सनस्, सदीङ्, लोट्, लोट् इरस् इरञ्, इरञ्, दुवस्, मेधा, कुपुभ, सगंध, तन्तम्, पस्पस् सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिष्यज्, इषुध, वरण, चुरण, सुरण, दुरण, गद्गद्, सला, केला, खेला, लिट् and लोट् ।

गुपूधूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपू-धूप-विच्छि-पणि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् रवणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतो, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, पन च, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुप् 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects', धूपायति 'he heats' so also, विच्छावति, पणावति, and पनायति.

The verb पण् being read along with पन् 'to praise' has here the sense of 'praise' only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract' ; as अतस्य पणते, सइस्य पणते.

The verb in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयञ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः शीतो धातुर्ध्वावां वर्तते अथ ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sūtra root ऋति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ङ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada; as ऋतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, ऋतीयाते, ऋतीयन्ते.

कमेर्णिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, णिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम् 'to desire.'

The क indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ङ shows Atmanepada; as, क्कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायां आदयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i e., आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self With an ārdhahātuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd sings of the Future is an ārdhahātuka affix. It is optional to retain the *āya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोपाय, 'he will protect'. So also ऋतिता or ऋतीयिता; कर्मिता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय, &c, would have come always even when ārdhahātuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional Therefore proper ārdhahātuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ārdhahātuka क्तिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ārdhahātuka ञ् (III. 3 102) will, be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus वृत्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः सन्धाया धातुर्धन्वा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra 1. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative root. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c., as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; **वेक्रिय** 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as **कृ** 'to do' and thus take **अप्** &c.

स्यताबी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-ताबी, लृ-लुटोः,

(धातोः)

वृत्तिः ॥ सूरूपमुत्सृष्टानुबन्धं खानाम्यनेकमेव तस्मिन् शुद्धिं च परतो धातोर्यथासंख्य
व्युत्पासं प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When कृ and कुट् follow, then क्य and कश्चि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

सृ is the common expression for सृङ् and सृट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses सृट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The ह् of तसि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as च्त् 'to think', च्त्ता 'he will think.'

सिर्द्धुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययो सवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. चिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when चेद् follows.

The tense called **लोट्** or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix **बिप्** is diversely added.

Thus ओषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत् Sometimes this augment is not employed ; thus षतति द्विदुत् उदधिं ज्याययाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1 2, बहति is an example of लोट् with विष् ॥

कासप्रत्ययादानमन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास-प्रत्ययाद्.
आस्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कासू शठं कुत्सायां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यश्च घातुभ्य आत् प्रत्ययो, भवति सिद्धि
परस्योऽनङ्गविषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कास्यनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् तुलुम्पाद्वयम् ॥

35. काच् is the affix of the verb काच् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कश्च will be कश्चात्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or अस् or कृ is added. As कश्चात्कृत् 'he coughed'; चोरयात्कृत् 'he stole'. So also सोढवात्कृत्.

This rule, however, does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig Veda I. 79. 2.

Vart:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुप्पाञ्चकार, दरिद्राङ्कार -

The final ण् of आच् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिव्यो चातुर्गुणमाश्च अनृच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्ध्वतिरश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आच् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root अच् 'to go'.

Thus ईच् 'to try', ईर्षाञ्जे 'he tried'; so also ऊर्षाञ्जे 'he guessed', वषाञ्जे 'he grieved'.

But अच् forms आनृच्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb कर्च 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is कर्चुनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्च, Perfect आनर्च (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उच्, Perf. उवोच् (VI. 4. 78) ऊल्लुच्, ऊल्लुः Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुर्च, Perf. चुकुर्च; इर्च, Perf. उइर्च.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय दानगतिरश्चोषे, अय गतो, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and आस 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस, 'to sit', there is the affix लट्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्जे 'he gave'; पलायाञ्जे 'he ran away'; आसौञ्जे 'he sat'.

उषविद्जागृभ्योऽन्तकरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद्-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद् जाने, जागृ निद्राघने, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यामाश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आच् is optionally employed after these, viz.—उच् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus ओषाञ्चकार or उषोष, विदाञ्चकार or विवेद, जगदाञ्चकार or जजगार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद as ending in a short अ, *guṇa* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीहीभृदुवां इलुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ही-भृ-हुवा, इलुवत्.
च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ।

इति ॥ जिभी भये, ही लज्जायाश्च, हुभृन् चारणपोषणयोः, हु दानादानयोः, इत्येभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्यये सप्तत्यन्यतरस्याश्च, इलाविच चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥

39. आच् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear,' ही 'to be ashamed,' भृ 'to nourish' हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आच् is affixed, the effect is as if there were इलु elision and the roots belonged to Hvâdi class.

The effect of इलु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As विभयाञ्चकार or विभाय, जिह्वाञ्चकार or जिह्वाय, जिभराञ्चकार or जभार, हुहताञ्चकार or हुदाव.

कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कृञ्च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि

इति ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य परचात्कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृजिति प्रत्याहारेण कृञ्चस्तयो वृश्चान्त तत्त्वान्तर्यादस्तेभ्यो भावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आच्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आच् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs कृ and अच्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अच् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by कृ (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are ârdhadhâsuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाञ्चकृच्च, पाचयामाच.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्त्वित्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम्

इति ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्त्वित्येतदन्यतरस्याश्च निपात्यते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आच् to the root विद 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by लुक्; moreover there is no substitution of *guṇa*

as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विदाच्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb कृ; thus we have विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know.' The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विदाङ्करोतु विदाङ्कुरताच् &c.

**अभ्युत्साद्यां प्रजनयां चिकयां रमयानकः पावयां क्रियाद्विदान-
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्साद्याम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-
रमयानकः, पावयां क्रियाद्-विदानक्रन्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥**

इति ॥ अभ्युत्साद्यानित्येवमादयः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्साद्यानकः प्रजनयानकः चिकयानकः रमयानकः पावयां क्रियाद् विदानक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Ohhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots कृ 'to sit' जृ 'to be born', and रच् 'to sport': to which the affix आच् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आच् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पु 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix चिच्, annexing the affix आच् before the terminations of the Potential (लिट्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियाच्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आच् is added and the auxiliary अक्रन् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follow:—

अभ्युद्दीयद्, प्राजीजनद्, अचैषीद्, अरीरन्, पाव्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

छिल लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छिल, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

इति ॥ धातोः छिल प्रत्यये भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix छिल is added to the verbal root.

The ह् of छिल is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has udātta on its final. Then remains only छि; which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact छिल is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

छलेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छलेः, सिच् ॥

इति ॥ छलेः चित्तादेयो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ एष्वङ्गुणद्वयद्वयं चित्ता वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of चिच्, चिच् is the substitute.

The च् of चिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real affix is च्; as अकार्षीत् 'he did'. When चिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms:—

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>			<i>Atmanepada.</i>		
<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural.</i>
1st pers. चं	स्व	स्व	चि	स्वचि	स्वचि
2nd pers. सीः	स्व, तं	स्व, त	स्वाः, याः	स्वायां	स्वा
3rd pers. सीत्	स्वां, तां	स्वः	स्व, त	स्वातां	स्वत

The substitution of चिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पर्श् 'to touch', घृष् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', दृष् 'to become satisfied', and हृष् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पर्श् has three forms; अस्मासीत्, अस्मासीत् or अस्पृषत्. Similarly घृष् has अद्रासीत्, अनासीत् or अघृषत्; कृष्, अकार्षीत् अक्रासीत् or अकृषत्; दृष्, अताप्सीत्, अनाप्सीत्, or अदृषत्; हृष्, अद्राप्सीत्, अदाप्सीत् or अहृषत्।

शल इगुपधादनिटः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्, अनिटः, कसः, (चलेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो यो धातुगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य चलेरनिटः, कस आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a चस consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), कस is the substitute of चिच्.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कस are as follows:—

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>			<i>Atmanepada.</i>		
<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st pers. चं	साक्	साक्	चि	सीचि	सीचि
2nd pers. सः	सत्	सत्	स्वाः, याः	स्वायाक्	स्वायाक्, स्वाय्
3rd pers. सत्	सतां	सत्	स्व, त	स्वातां	स्वत

As, घृष् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस as अहृषत् and अकृषत्; so दुह् 'to milk' forms अधुषत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिषत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in च, च, स, and ह'? Observe अनेरसीत्, अनेरसीत्; here चिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate ह, उ, ऋ or ए'? Observe अनासीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate ह'? Observe अनोसीत् and अनोसीत्. See VII. 2. 4. and VIII. 2. 28.

श्लिष आलिंगने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिङ्गने, (चलेः, कसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेर्षांतोरालिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्य चलेः कस आदेशो भवति ॥

46. कस is the substitute of चिच् after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

*This is a restrictive aphorism. As आरिलवत् कन्याश्च 'he embraced the girl'. But वनारिलपञ्जतुकाद्यश्च 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (च्लेः, कसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः परस्य च्लेः कसादेशो न भवति ॥

47. दृश् is not the substitute of च्ल after the verb दृश् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining दृश्. The root दृश् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अङ् and चिच्; as अदृश्यत् or अद्रावोत् 'he saw'.

शिञ्शितुस्तुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-शि-दु-स्तुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्तुस्तुभ्यो धातुभ्यः शिदुस्तुह्ययेतेभ्यश्च परस्य च्लश्चङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिना लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कनेरपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in शि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb शि 'to serve', दृ 'to run', and लु 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्ल when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

The ङ prevents *guna* and *vridhhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11) The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिश्रियत् 'he served or went'; अदुद्रवत् 'he ran'; अलुलुत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कश्च 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कश्च when it takes the affix चिङ् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in शि; the *Vartika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कश्च does not take the affix चिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकलत् 'he loved'; when it takes चिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकलत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा चेद्भ्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चेद्-भ्योः, (च्लेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेद् धाने, दुज्जोरिव गतिद्वयोः, वताभ्यामुत्तरस्य च्लेर्विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots च् 'to suck', and श्वि 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्ल, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, अदधत् 'he sucked.' When it takes the alternative चिच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अघात् and अघाचीत् 'he sucked'. So also of रिच्, we have अरिग्रथत् 'he grew'. It also takes the अच्. (III. 1. 58) and then its form is अरवत् or अरवयीत्.

गुपेइछन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (चलेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्मै चलेइछन्दसि विषये विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ।

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix आरा (II. 1. 28). As मित्रावरुणाय यत् वृद्धात् अञ्जुगुपत च 'Mitra Varuṇa protected these our houses'. The other forms are अगोतृच्, अगोपिच्छत् or अगोपाचिच्छत्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

ऊनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (चलेः, चङि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन गच्छे, हल प्रेरणे, अर्द गती वाचने च. एतेभ्यो वाच्येभ्यो यद्यन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेषु चलेइङि प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease', ध्वन 'to sound', हल 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg', चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas; औनयत् in the classical literature; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलययीः and अर्दयीत्; their classical forms being अदिध्वनत्, ऐलितत्, and आर्दिदत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15, and Pāṇini VII 2. 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (ऊजेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जु घेयणे, अच परिभाषाणे, ब्रूयादेशो वा, खया प्रकथने, वक्तिहादेशो वा, यभ्यः परस्मै चलेइङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अञ् 'to throw', वच् 'to speak', and खया 'to speak', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when उङ् follows signifying the agent.

वच् may be either the root, or the substitute of ब्रू (II. 4. 53) and so also खया may be the root, or the substitute of वच् (II. 4. 54.). The root अञ् belonging to the दिवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the sub-division पुषादि, and therefore it would have taken अङ् in the Parasmaipada.

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ् in the Atmanepada also; as पर्याख्यत (VII. 4. 17), अविचत् and आख्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्याविचतात्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि)

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपदेहे, सिचि वरणे, ह्वि स्पर्द्धयां एतेभ्यश्च परस्व, च्लेरङादेशो भवति.

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्वि 'to call', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when अङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपत् 'he painted or wrote'; असिचत् 'he sprinkled'; and आह्वत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः च्लेरङादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्वि, अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपत् or अलिह 'he painted'; असिचत् or असिक्त 'he sprinkled'; आह्वत् or अह्वस्त 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृद्-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लृदिभ्यश्च आत्मभ्यः परस्व च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अङादेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, द्युव 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory इ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि, verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; द्युव, अद्युतत् 'he shone', गच्छ, अगच्छत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as व्यद्योतिह, अलोतिह.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यु नतो, शास् अद्युतिहो, अ नतो, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्व च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ हृ वृ वहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेः कृदसि विषयेऽङादेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', हृ 'to die', वृ 'to tear', and वह 'to rise', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरोत् 'he did'; अमरोत् 'he died'; अदरोत् 'he tore'; आरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षीत्, अमृत, अदारीत् and अरुहत्.

चिच् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिच्, ने, पदः, (च्लेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद् गतौ अस्माद्गतोः परस्य च्लेरिषणादेशो भवति तच्चन्दे परतः ॥

60. चिच् is the substitute of च्लि after the verb गद् 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अयात् 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अयवाताम् 'they two went'; अयवत् 'they went', अङ् + पद + चिच् + त = अ + पाद् + इ = अयात् (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, चिच्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि इत्येभ्यः परस्य च्लेस्तच्चन्दे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिच्चादेशो भवति ॥

61. चिच् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप् 'to shine', जग् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know', पूर् 'to be full', ताय् 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'.

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिष्ट 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिष्ट 'he was produced'; अजोषि or अजुष्ट 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिष्ट 'he was full'; अतायि or अतायिष्ट 'he extend'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिष्ट 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (च्लेः, ते,

चिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि तच्चन्दे परतरिषणादेशो भवति ॥

62. चिच् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when त the third person singular of Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflective verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflective verbs therefore, चिच् is employed after roots ending in

vowels; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (मात्रविभावा). Therefore we have also अकृत कटः स्वयमेव; similarly अलावि or अलविष्ट कोदारः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, i. e., in those which end with a consonant, the चिच् is obligatory in the reflexive voice, and not optional; as अनेदि काटुस् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself.' So also in verbs other than reflexives; as अकारि कटो देववत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिच्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रवृत्ते, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेरिवचादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याच् ॥

63. चिच् is optionally the substitute of च्ले after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when च follows.

Thus अदोहि or अदुह गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिच् is compulsory, e. g., अदोहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिच्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधि आवरते, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि विभादेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिच् is not the substitute of च्ले after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्ववारुध गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself. In verbs other than reflexive, चिच् is employed, e. g., अन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, च्लेः, चिच्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप अनुतापे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेरिवचादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिच् is not the substitute of च्ले after the verb तप 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप; as अतप तपस्तपः 'the ascetic performed austerity'; अन्वतप पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिच् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिच्, भाव-कर्मणोः, (च्लेः, चिच्, ते)

वृत्तिः ॥ चातोः परस्व वृद्धेरिषादेशो भवति भावे कर्त्तरि तस्य परतः ॥

66. चिच् is the substitute of च्लि when च of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अक्षयि भवता 'it was lain by you, i. e., you lay', अक्षारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिच् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥६७॥ पदानि॥ सार्वधातुके यक्, (भाव-कर्मयोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मधाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो भावोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते स्वता 'you sit', पश्यते स्वता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs; as क्रियते कटः and गन्वते श्यामः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vridhau. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥६८॥ पदानि॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, चातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृधाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो चातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरष comes after roots of the श्रु class and after compound roots formed by रुच् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory च makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As श्रु + शप् + तिप् = श्रु + च + ति = श्रो + च + ति = श्रवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also चवति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यच् comes after a root of the Divadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile च of श्यच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicatory च makes the affix sârvadhâtuka; as दिव् + श्यच् +

तिष् = दीव् + य + ति (VII. 2. 77) = दीव्यति; so also वीव्यति. The *Divadi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्लमुत्रचित्रुटि-कषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा,
भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्लमु-त्रचि-त्रुटि-कषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, इयन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्रमु क्लमु त्रचि त्रुटि कष एतेभ्यो वा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix इयन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश् 'to shine', भ्लाश् 'to shine', भ्रश् 'to whirl' क्रश् 'to walk', क्लश् 'to be sad', त्रश् 'to fear', त्रुट् 'to cut' and लश् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रनति or भ्रान्यति 'he whirls'; क्रानति or क्रान्यति 'he walks'; क्लानति or क्लान्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्यति or त्रनति; त्रुटयति or त्रुटति; लक्ष्यति or लषति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्, अनुपसर्गात्, (इयन्,
वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यसोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the verb यश् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्यति or यचति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयास्यति, प्रयास्यति. The root यच् belongs to the *Divadi* class.

संयसश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (इयन्, वा) ॥ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसार्य यसेर्वा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the root यच् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition चच्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus चच्यस्यति or सच्यसति 'he strives'.

स्वानिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्नु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके
कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्नु आनिभ्ये इत्येवमादिभ्यो शानुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svâdi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

This debars चप्. As सु + रु + तिप् = सु + रु + ति = सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

सुवः श्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवः, श्च, च, (सुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवः रनुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निधौ च सुवः श्च इत्येवमादेशो भवति ।

74. And रु is the substitute of सु, and there is the affix रु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus सु + रु + तिप् = सु + रु + ति = सुनोति 'he hears'; सुश्रुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (श्रुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्ष् व्याप्तौ भौवादिकः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां रनुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix रु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षणोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, श्रुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तक्ष् त्वच्चू तनुकरणे, अस्मात्तनूकरणे वर्त्तमानादन्यतरस्यां रनु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix रु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षोति क्वाष्टं 'he hews the wood'. But चन्तक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्ययने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ।

77. The affix च is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars चप्. The indicatory च makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद + च + ति = तुद + च + ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः श्चम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, श्चम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधर् आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो श्चम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix चप् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars वच्. The indicatory च् of the affix इनच् shows that the affix च् is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see sūtra I. 1. 47. As वच् + इनच् + ति = वच् + न + ति = च + न + च् + ति = वण्डि 'he obstructs'. So also विनक्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory च् is for the sake of sūtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिकृञ्भ्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-कृञ्भ्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येतनादिभ्यो चातुभ्यः कुञ्जरच उपस्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanādi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sārvaadhātuk affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars वच्. As तच् + उ + ति = तनोति 'he expands'; कृ + उ + ति = करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanādi verbs, for which see Dhātupāṭha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sūtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanādi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanādi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus अकृत and अकृत्याः; the विच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

चिन्विक्कृण्वोर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्वि-कृण्वोः, अ, च;

(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवि चिवि जिवि प्रीवनायोः कवि हिंसाकरयोः इत्येतयोर्द्वौवाचस्ययो भवत्यकाररचान्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots चिन्वि 'to please', and कृण्वि 'to hurt' when a sārvaadhātuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final च्.

The root चिन्वि or चिन्वि belongs to the Bhuādi class. Thus चिन्वि + उ + ति = चिन् + अ + उ + ति = चिन् + उ + ति (VI. 4. 48) = चिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the इ of चिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sārvaadhātuka or an ārdhaadhātuka affix. The answer is to be found in sūtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthānivat*), and thus prevent *guna*.

क्रमादिभ्यः आ ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, आ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीक्री इव्यविनिनये इत्येतनादिभ्यो चातुभ्यः वनाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix आ comes after the roots of the Kryādi class when a sārvaadhātuka affix follows denoting the agent.

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word वृत्त्यन्त means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikarāṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + वृप् + ति instead of विभक्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e. g. शुशुम्नस्य अण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11) 'He (Indra) breaks the eggs (children) of Shushma'; so also, नरदा नरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is नरते = (वृ + वृप् + ते) instead of न्रिवते; the root वृ belonging to the Tudādi class. So also there are two vikarāṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative क्वाट् of the root नी 'to lead'; there are two vikarāṇas सिप् and वृप् instead of नयतु = नी + वृप् + तु; इन्द्रेण युजा तस्वेन वृत्रम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तस्वेन (वृ + उ + सिप् + वृप् + अन्) is the 1st per sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root वृ, the classical form being तरेन or वीर्येन 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत् and तद्धित affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyābhāra चङ् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्याशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
भार्तिकम् ॥ द्वयेरव्यक्तव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars वृप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ardhadhātuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sārvaadhātuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गच्छ, वृद्, वृक् and वड्; as उपस्थेयम्; सत्यमुपयेयम्; गमेन जानतो वृदात्, नम्रं बोधेनाग्नये; विद्वेदमेनां ननवि प्रविष्टां; ब्रह्म चरिष्वानि तच्छक्रेयम्; स्वर्गं लोकं दाहेयम्.

The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb वृष् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused *gu. a* by rule VII. 4. 16; to prevent this, अङ् is ordained; as पितरं वृषेयं मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा,
तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म कर्मत्वया क्रिया तुल्यक्रियः कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The क denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a क denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or क, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or क denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of वच् (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of चिच् for चि (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus चिद्यते काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; कनेदि काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word वच् 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus चिद्यते जुच्यते.

The word कर्मणा 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus वाघवतिरिहति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also वातु स्वासी पचति 'the pot cooks well' here स्वासी is a location.

This 'karma-vad-bhāva, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव, (कर्मवत्, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सत्तापे, तस्य कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नास्ति कर्मकस्य ॥

38. The agent of the verb तप् 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word तपस् itself.

Thus तप्यते तपस्तापसः 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्तुनमां यक्चिहौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्तु-नमां, यक्-चिहौ, (कर्मकर्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डङ् स्तु नङ् हत्येतेषां कर्मकर्त्तरि यक्चिञो कर्मबद्धावापदिहो न भवतः ॥

नार्त्तिकम् ॥ यक्चिञोः प्रतिषेधे विजिघ्रिषूजात्मनेपदाकर्मकावाप्तुपर्वल्लयानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67.) and चिञ् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs डङ् 'to milk', स्तु 'to fall in drops' and नङ् 'to bow.'

The affixes यक् and चिञ् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root डङ्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिञ् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as डङ्चि, कडङ्च or अडङ्चि गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्तुते or प्रास्तेनष्ट गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; ननते or अनन्त दण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिञ् is extended to the verbs that take the affix चि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs लघ् 'to loosen', प्रगल् 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारवते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अचीकरत् 'it was caused to be made of itself'; लघ्नीते 'it loosens of itself'; लघ्नीकृत 'it loosened of itself'; प्रगल्नीते or अग्रगिणष्ट 'it composes or composed of itself'; ब्रूते and ब्रूवेषत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवचिष्ट नाचयकः स्वयमेव.

कुविरञ्जोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुवि-रञ्जोः, प्राचाम्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुव निष्कर्षे, रञ्ज राने, अनवोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्त्तरि प्राचानाचार्याणां नतेन रयम् प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix श्यन् comes after the roots कुव् 'to pull', and रञ्ज 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

Thus debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुचयति पादः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रञ्जति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुच्यते and रञ्जते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्यवधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ तृतीयाध्यायपरिचयार्थेदितं जडुर्वैजुज-निष्ठातो धातोरित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृत् affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यत्सप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. 1. कर्मणश्च the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भश्च + कृ + अच् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भश्च is an upapada.

कृदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्वर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तन्वच् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (1. 2 46). Thus कृ + तन्वच् = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe जीवात् 'may he collect', स्तुवात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसकृदोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असकृदः, अस्त्रियाम्,
(धातोः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारेऽसकृदप्रत्ययः प्रत्ययोऽसकृदो वा वाचको भवति स्वयधिकारं विहितप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same form,

optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes **बहुल्** and **दृच्** (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix **क्** after verbs having a penultimate **इक्** vowel, and the roots **दा**, **मी** and **बृ** is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes **बहुल्** and **दृच्** also. Thus **दृच्** is a root that has a penultimate **इ** belonging to the *pratyāhāra इक्*; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix **क्** will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus **विद्विच् + क् = विद्विच् + क् = विद्विच्**; but this special rule however, does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally **विद्विच् + बहुल् = विद्वेपक्**; and **विद्विच् + दृ = विद्वेदृ** nom. sing. **विद्वेप्ता**.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes **अच्** and **क** are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form, *i e.*, **अ**; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining **अच्** as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining **क**, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long **आ**, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus **गो + दा + क = गोदः** 'giver of cows'. So also **कम्बलदः** 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix **अच्**.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (**अचदृक्**) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes **क्**, **अच्**, **इच्**, **उच्** &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining **तिच्** in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining **ञ** after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though **ञ** and **ति** are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots **चिकीर्ष** and **जिहीर्ष** will form feminine nouns in **ञा** and not by **क्तिच्**. Thus **चिकीर्षा** and **जिहीर्षा** and not **चिकीर्षति** &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्बहुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, बहुलः ॥

इति: ॥ वृत्तुत्तुचाविति वक्ष्यति प्राग्वत्स्वभावस्य वृत्तुत्तुचाविति कर्तुर्वचनप्रतिपादः
कृतवचनकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism वृत्तुत्तुचो (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kritya.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a sub division of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70.). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. I. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यनव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,
(धातोः) ॥

इति: ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि लिट् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जेलिन्तर उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 91. The final letters ट् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter ट् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185. and the letter र indicating penultimate udatta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्त्तव्यत्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्त्तव्य 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर् = करणीय 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वृच् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicative च. The force of च्. is to cause vridhhi. Thus वच् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart:—The affix जेलिन्तर should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पक्षेक्षिणा पापाः : kidney beans fit toeb

cooked'; निदेक्षिष्यानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split, i. e., fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i. e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अथो वत् ॥ ९७ ॥ यदानि ॥ अथः, यत्, (चातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अथोऽन्तादितोऽर्थप्रत्यये न चति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तन्निबन्धितविधिविधिवीबाधुपचंसवार्त्तिक इतो वा वत् च ॥

97. The affix वत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter व् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udatta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा + वत् = गेव, noun sing, गेवत् 'what is to be sung'; so also वेवत् 'what is to be drunk'; जेवत् 'what is to be conquered'. The वा of गा and वा is changed into व् by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes वत् affix instead of वद्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix वत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from को 'to cut', we have the desiderative root किल्व्, which ends in a vowel व्. This व् is elided before ārdha-dhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes किल्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix वत् and not वद्. Thus किल्वत् 'what is wished to be cut'; किल्वत् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly कु before ārdhadhātuka affixes becomes को, the को is changed into क्व् before व् (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is क्वत्. The root क्व् however takes वत् and not वद्; as क्वयो, क्वयत् &c.

Vart :—The verbs वृक् 'to fly', लृक् 'to leap', अर्क् 'to ask', अर्क् 'to attempt' and वृक् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take वत् and not वद्; as वृवत्, अर्वत्, वृवत्, लृवत्, and अर्वत्.

Vart :—And of the verb कृ 'to kill' कृ is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix वत्. Thus we have कृवत् or कृत्वात्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix वत् comes only after the कृ substitute; after कृ the affix वत् comes which changes the कृ into क्, and कृ into क् and causes vriddhi.

पौरुषवात् ॥ ९८ ॥ यदानि ॥ योः, अद्-सववात्, (चातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदानीन्तादितोऽर्थप्रत्यये न चति ॥

98. The affix वत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short क्.

This debars वद; thus वप्+वद्=वप् 'to be sworn'; वप्+वद्=वप् 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take वद; thus वप्+वद्=वाक्वद् 'what is to be cooked'; वाक्वद् 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take वद; thus कुप्+वद्=कोपद् 'to be angry'; so also वेपद् 'to be concealed'.

The word वद is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of द here is, by I. 1. 70, that short अ having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long आ. Therefore, after the root आप् 'to obtain', we have वद and not वद्; thus आपद् 'to be reached' i. e. 'attainable'.

शक्तिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वद्, वदो, वद नर्वदे, अनवोर्धातोर्व्यत्यययो भवति ॥

99. The affix वद comes after the roots वद् 'to be able', and वर 'to bear'.

Thus वप्वद् 'possible'; वप्वद् 'endurable'.

गद्वद्वरयसश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-वद-वर-यसः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद गद वर वर, वद्वद्वरवानुपसर्गे यत्यययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिवद् ॥ वरेण्यदि वाहुते ॥

100 The affix वद comes after the roots वद् 'to speak', वर 'to be mad', वर 'to go, to eat', and वप् to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus वद्वद् 'what is to be spoken, i. e. prose'; वद्वद् 'wine'; वरवद् 'what is to be followed'; वप्वद् 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an उपसर्ग, these roots will take वद; thus प्रगाद्वद्; प्रगाद्वद् &c.

The root वर would have taken the affix वद् by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in व and is preceded by अ: its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb वप् will not take the affix वद. Therefore with regard to वर, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Var:—The root वर when preceded by the preposition आप् takes the वद affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus आपर्वो देवः 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes वद्; thus आपर्वः 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपरयवर्षा गच्छ-पणितठयानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥
 अवद्य-परय-वर्षाः, गच्छ-पणितठय-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य परय वर्षा इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते गच्छ पणितठय अनिरोध इत्येतेऽप्यर्थेषु यथासंख्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, परय and वर्षा are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्य 'पाप' 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अवद्वयन्. This is formed by adding the affix वयन् to the root वद् by III. 1. 106. So also परयः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; परयाः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पावयद्, formed by the addition of ववत्. So also सतेन वर्षा 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्षा 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्त्य from the root वृ 'to choose', वर्षा means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्षा in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus नार्या वृत्तिवत्.

वक्ष्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वक्ष्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वक्ष्यार्थोः करणे यत्प्रत्यये निपात्यते ॥

102. The word वक्ष्य is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वक्ष्य is derived from root वक्ष् 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वक्ष्यं वक्तव्यम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix ववत्, thus वाव्यः 'an ox'.

अर्थः स्वानिवेश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थः, स्वानि-वेश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ गतो, अस्मादवयति प्राप्ते, स्वानिवेश्ययोः अनिवेश्ययोः यत्प्रत्यये निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतोऽनाम इत्याहुदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वानिवेश्ययोः दात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्थ is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaiśya'.

The root अर्थ 'to go', would have taken ववत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes वृत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्थः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्थो वैश्यः 'honored Vaiśya'.

Vart.—Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix वृत् makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्थ, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaiśya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix ववत्; as आर्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

उपसर्ग्या काह्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग्या. काह्या,
प्रजने ॥

इति: ॥ उपसर्व्येति निपात्यते काह्या वेत्प्रजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्ग्या is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्ग्या is formed by adding सर्ग affix to the root यु 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word काह्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्ग्या गौ: 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्ग्या वधवा 'the mare fit for the horse.'

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix रस्य will be used; as उपसर्ग्या सरहि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजय्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजय्यम्, संगतम् ॥

इति: ॥ अजय्यमिति निपात्यते अङ्गत्वे चेद्व्यति ॥

105. The word अजय्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजय्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the 'addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + जृ + यत् = अजय्यम्

Thus अजय्यं भोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजय्यं भावेऽंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजय्यम् अङ्गत्वे: 'undecaying blanket'.

उदः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, सुपि, क्यप्, च,
(यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

इति: ॥ उदेर्भातोः सुवन्तुपपदे अनुपसर्गो यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्वचन ॥

106. After the root उद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 ante. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix क्यप् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus उद् + क्यप् = उद्यम् = उद् + यत् = उद्योद्यम् ; उद् + क्यप् + यत् = उद्योद्यम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly वस्योद्यम् or वस्यवद्यम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise उद् + क्यप् = उद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe *महाभयम्* 'a rumour' formed by the affix *वयप्* and not by *वत्* or *वयप्*.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, (अनुपसर्गे, भुवि, क्यप्) ॥

ह्रितः ॥ भवतेर्भातोः भुवस्तत्पदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root *भू* 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix *वयप्* is employed to denote condition (*bhāva*).

The words *भुवि* and *अनुपसर्गे* of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of *वत्* does not cover this aphorism. As *ब्रह्म भुवं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः* 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood'; *देवभुवं = देवत्वं गतः* 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhāva* of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take *वत्*; as *भू + वत् = भो + वत् = भवत्*, VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe *महाभयम्*

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (भुवि, अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्, भावे) ॥

ह्रितः ॥ हन्येर्भातोः भुवस्तत्पदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारस्यान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root *हन्* 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix *वयप्* in denoting condition, and the letter *व* is the substitute of its final.

The phrases *भुवि अनुपसर्गे* and *भावे* are understood in this sūtra.

As *ब्रह्म + हन् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + हन् + व = ब्रह्महन्व*, (VI. 1. 71) *ब्रह्महन्व* 'Brahman-murder'. So also *अश्वहन्व* 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is *चातः* 'a blow' (*हन् + चिच् + क्त*). This verb does not take the affix *वयप्* in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe *महावो वर्तते* 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्त्रद्वयः क्यप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु शास्त्र-द्व-द्व-द्वयः, क्यप् ॥

ह्रितः ॥ एति स्त शास्त्र द्व द्व द्वयः हन्येतेभ्यः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतिदुर्हि भुविभ्यो वेति यत्तद्वयम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आह प्रवादणेः संवादानुपसर्गस्यापह् ॥

109. After the verbs ग 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', च 'to choose', ह 'to respect' and पु 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of कृषि, अनुपसर्गे and चावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus ग + क्यप् = ग + त + य (VI. 1. 71) = गत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृद् affix, with an indicatory य् follows'. So also स्तु + क्यप् = स्तुत्यः 'to be praised'; शास् + क्यप् = शिस् + य (शा being changed into शि by VI. 4. 34) = शिष्यः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also च + क्यप् = च्यवः 'to be chosen'; आह + क्यप् = आह्वयः 'to be honoured'; पु + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sūtra too, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules, such as 125 of this chapter, should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires क्वप् 'after the verb स्तु but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अनुपसर्ग स्तुत्यः 'must be praised'.

By ग in the sūtra the root गृह् is intended to be taken, and not the root गृह्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is गार्हः as गार्हा ऋत्विजः.

Vart:—The roots कृष् 'to praise' इह् 'to milk' and कृष् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As कृष्यन् or कृष्यन् (VI. 4. 37); इह्यन् or दोह्यन्, कृष्यन् or गोष्यन्.

Vart:—The verb अज् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आह् takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ + अज् + क्यप् = आह्वयः meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj. :—How do you explain the form क्यव्य which is evidently formed from the root व by adding क्यप्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The व in क्यव्य is a different root from that taken. The root in this sūtra is वृ of the Adādi class.

अद्वयधातुकाङ्गपिचुतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्-उपधात्, च, अङ्गपि-चुतेः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारोपधात् च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्यये भवति ऋपिचुती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाठौ सुजेर्यङ्गकथः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वनवपुर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short ऋ, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and वृप् 'to hurt'.

Thus वृप् + क्यप् = वृष्यन्; so also कृष्यन्. But कृप् and वृप् will form कृष्यन्, and वृष्यन्.

Why have we used the letter वृ in वृष्यन्? It is to indicate that short ऋ

is meant and not long कृ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कृ will take क्वप् and form कृत्वप्.

Vart:—The root कृ takes the affix क्वप् when compounded with the word बाणि. Thus बाणिकवर्ग रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Vart:—The root कृ when preceded by both कृ and क्वप् takes क्वप् as क्वप्कृत्वप्.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्भातोः क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवतीत्यारम्भादिभ्यः ॥

- 111. The affix क्वप् is employed after the root खन 'to dig,' and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus कृ + क्वप् = कृ + ई + व = कृत्वप् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the क of कृ would have been lengthened into का before the affix क्वप्.

भृजोऽवञ्जायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-वञ्जायाम्, (क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजोऽवञ्जायाम् विभवे क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

कारिणश्च ॥ वञ्जोर्विभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्वप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृज् + क्वप् = भृज् Pl. वृत्ताः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृज् + क्वप् = भृजः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart:—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition क्वप्; Thus वञ्ज्वाः or वञ्जावः.

भृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजेः, विभाषा, (क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजेर्विभाषा क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्वप् optionally comes after the root कृ 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāṣā*. By rule 110 *ante*, the root कृ having a penultimate कृ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिहृज्वाः or परिभाषः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved:—

परिहृज् + क्वप् (III. 1. 124) = परिहृज् + व (VII. 3. 52) = परिभाषः (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूय-सूर्य-सूची-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्ययः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥

राजसूय-सूर्य-सूची-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्ययः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य सूचीरुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य अव्यय इत्येते षष्ठाः क्यप् निपात्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य सूचीरुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य and अव्यय are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राजा रोच्यः or राजा इह रोचते, राज + रु +, क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasūya or coronation sacrifice'.

Similarly सूर्य + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky; or that which impels (सुवति) creation to action. सूच + वद + क्यप् = सूचीरुच्य 'false speech', this is an exception to rule 106, by which वद would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचतेऽही, वच् + क्यप् = रच्य, 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप् + क्यप् = कुप्य 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोप्य. कृष्ट + पच् = कृष्टपच्यः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. ग वचते = अव्ययः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्योद्धयी नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्धयी, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिदेवञ्जोरच क्यप् निपात्यन्ते नदेऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्धय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद् + क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

उद्धच् + क्यप् = उद्धय 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river; the च् is changed into य.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus वेत्ता and उज्जिता.

पुष्यसिद्धयी नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धयी, नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषे चिह्नैश्चाधिकारके क्यप् निपात्यन्ते नक्षत्रेऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्धय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष् + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. चिद् + क्यप् = सिद्धयः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोष्य 'nourishing', सिध्यन् 'accomplishing'.

विपूयविनीयजित्वा मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि । विपूय-
विनीय जित्वाः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्वा इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अर्थात्स्वं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येते
अव्ययेषु बोध्येषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्वा are irregularly
formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and
the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि + पू + क्यप् = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified
to make rope'; वि + नी + क्यप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि + क्यप् = जित्वा a plough
that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are निपात्यन्, विनेयन् and जेयन्

प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेऽह्न्वसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां,
ग्रहेः, अह्न्वसि, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति अह्न्वसि विधये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the
prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्यप् in the Vedic li-
terature.

Thus न चरन् न प्रतिगृह्णन् ; कर्त्तव्यापिगृह्णन् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राहन् and अपिग्राहन्

पदास्त्वैरिवाद्यापदयेषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्त्वैरि-
वाद्या-पदयेषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्त्वैरिति वाद्यायां पदये चार्थे ग्रहेर्भातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्यप्, when it means
a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्णन् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already
defined in sūtra I. 1. 11. So also अवगृह्णन्.

The word अस्त्वैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for
himself. Thus गृह्णन्काः शुकाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus शत्रुबाह्या सेना 'an army
lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender in-
dicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gen-
der to have this sense.

The word पक्ष is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan,
follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवपक्षाः 'siding with or being the partisans of
Vāsudeva', So also अर्जुनपक्षा 'belonging to the party of Arjuna'.

छन्दसि निष्ठकर्मदेवहूयप्रणीयोत्नीयोच्छिद्यमर्यस्तर्याध्वर्य खन्य-
खान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचार्यपृष्ठानि ॥ १२३ ॥
पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्ठकर्म-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उत्नीय-उच्छिद्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-
खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृष्ठानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठकर्मादयः शब्दाश्छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विषय इति वक्तव्यम्

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly:— निष्ठकर्म, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उत्नीय, उच्छिद्य, मर्य, स्तर्या, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य, and उपचार्यपृष्ठ.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठकर्म is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निष्, and the affix यत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः + कृत् + यत् = निः + कृत् + य (the root कृत् transformed into कृ by transposition) = निष्ठकर्म. As निष्ठकर्म चिन्वीत् पशुकानः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke, the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment व (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव + हू or हू + क्यप् = देवहूयः. So also प्र + नी (to lead) + क्यप् = प्रणीः; उत् + नी + क्यप् = उत्नीयः, उत् + शिप् (to leave) + क्यप् = उच्छिद्यन् ; हृ (to die) + यत् = मर्यः ; स्तृ (to cover) + यत् = स्तर्या; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend) + यत् = ध्वर्यः ; खृ (to dig) + यत् = खन्यः ; खन् + यत् = खान्यः ; देव (God) + यत् (to sacrifice) + यत् = देवयज्या; always used as feminine. आ + पृच्छ (to ask) + क्यप् = आपृच्छः, प्रति + षीव (to sew) + क्यप् = प्रतिषीव्यः ब्रह्मवा + वृ (to speak) + यत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः ; भू (to be) + यत् = भाव्यः ; स्तु (to praise) + यत् = स्ताव्यः ; उप + चि (to collect) + यत् + पृष्ठ = उपचार्यपृष्ठ. The last word is formed then only when the word पृष्ठ follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold.' When it does not mean 'gold' the form is उपचार्यपृष्ठ.

ऋहृलीयर्त्त ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हृलीः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋहृलीन्ताद्वातोर्हृलन्ताच्च यत्प्रत्यये। भवति ॥

124. The affix यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant

The phrase ऋहृलीः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As हू + यत् = कार्त्त 'to be made'; हृ + यत् =

हार्थ nom. sing. हार्थच् 'to be taken'; धृ+यत्=धार्य; 'to be held'; च्+यत्=चक्+यत् (VII. 3. 52) =वाक्य (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच्+यत्=पाक्यच्.

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यके (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद्ग्रातोपर्यन्तप्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यके दोत्ये ॥

125. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter उ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु+यत्=लौ+य=लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु+यत्=पाव्यच् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लाव्यं 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada the affix यत् is employed: or 2ndly when the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words लवदलाव्यं &c., we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्य, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpuruṣa* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वकं सुनोतेः यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चश्च इत्येतेभ्यश्च यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. The affix यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil' यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', जप् 'to be ashamed', and चश्च 'to drink.'

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ् and the root सु. This sūtra debars यत् that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु+यत्=आसाव्यच्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also वाव्यच्, राव्यच्, लाव्यच्, ज्ञाव्यच् and आवाव्यच्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus दम्+यत्=दाव्यच् ॥

आनाय्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाय्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयतेराङ् पूर्वस्यदायादेशी निपात्यते ॥

127. The word आनायः is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed:—आङ् + नी + यत् = आ + नी + य = आनायः, (the ऐ being changed into आय् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As आनायः दक्षिणाग्निः. This is a species of Dakshinâgni fire. As this fire is brought from the Gârhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore, it is called ânâyya. This, however, is not co-extensive with Dakshinâgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gârhapatya, and has the same source with the Dakshinâgni and Ahavaniyâgni. A Dakshinâgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gârhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last i. e. from Gârhapatya fire, it is ânâyya Dakshinâgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gârhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called ânâyya ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is आनेय meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रसाय्योऽसम्मतौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसाय्यः, असम्मतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसाय्य इति निपात्यते ऽसंमतानिधेये ॥

128. The word प्रसाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word असंमति is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus प्रसाय्यश्चोरः 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is प्र + नी 'to lead' + यत् = प्रलेयः 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is असंमति which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word सम्मति also means अनिश्रय or 'desire'; and असंमति would, therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word असंमति means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence:—

उपेक्षाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रक्षयात्, प्रसाय्याय अन्तेवासिने नान्यत्सै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसांनार्यनिकायधाय्या मानहविर्निवाससानिधेनीषु ॥

१२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-सांनार्य-निकाय-धाय्याः, मान-हविः-निवास-सानि-धेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यादयः यदा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं तानि हविषि निवासे सानिधेर्वा सानि-धेयावाश्च ॥

129. The words चाट्य, सान्नाय, निकाट्य and घाट्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—चा (to measure)+यत्=चाट्य, the च being changed into ट and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is जेयत् 'to be measured' (चा+यत्=जे+य VI. 4. 65=जेय). चत्+नी (to lead)+यत्=सान्नायत् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेयत् । नि+चि (to collect)+यत्=नि+चै+य=नि+चाय+य=निकाट्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचैय । धा (to put)+यत्=घाट्या (fem.) The sâmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is जेय ।

ऋतौ कुरडपाट्यसंचाट्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतौ, कुरडपाट्य-
संचाट्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरडपाट्य संचाट्य इत्येते शब्दौ निपातवन्ते ऋतावनिधेये ॥

130. The words कुरडपाट्यः and संचाट्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed : कुरड+चा (to drink)+यत्=कुरड+चा+य+य (VII. 3. 33)=कुरडपाट्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. चत्+चि (to collect)+यत्=संचाट्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुरडपान्य and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचाट्योपचाट्यसमूहः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ,
परिचाट्य-उपचाट्य-समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचाट्य उपचाट्य समूह इत्येते शब्दा निपातवन्ते अग्नावनिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचाट्यः, उपचाट्यः and समूहः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed :—परि+चि+यत्=परि+चै+य=परि+चाय+य=परिचाट्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the चै being changed into चाय by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचाट्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. चत्+चत्+यत्=चत्=ऊट्+य+समूहः 'a kind of fire'. समूहं चिन्वीह समूहः let him kindle the Samûhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, चरिजेयत् 'to be heaped', उपचेयत् 'to be increased', वचायत् 'to be carried'.

चित्वाग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्त्व-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्त्वमग्निचित्वाग्निचित्ये निपातयते ॥

132. The words चित्त्व and अग्निचित्त्व are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्त्व comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire i. e. that which is collected. As चित्त्वोऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्त्व means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment वृत्(वृ). These words have *uddita* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेवच् 'to be gathered'.

वृत्तुल्लुची ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्तुल्ल-लुची, (चातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वलोभयोः वृत्तुल्लुची प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes वृत्तुल्ल (ल्ल) and लुच् (लु) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus वृ 'to do' + वृत्तुल्ल = वृत्तुल्ल + वृ (VII. 2. 115) = वृत्तुल्ल + ल्ल (VII. 1. 1) = वृत्तुल्ल nom. sing. वृत्तुल्लः 'doer' वृ + लुच् = वृल् + लु (VII. 3. 84) = वृल् nom. sing. वृल्. So also वृत्तुल्लः and वृल्.

The लु of वृल् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from वृल्; the simple वृ includes both वृल् and वृल्, as in V. 3. 59, and V. 4. 154.

नन्दिप्रहियवादिभ्यो ल्युबिन्त्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-प्रहि-पवादिभ्यः, ल्यु, चिनि, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिनिनोन्नेत्यच् अचवा यवाचकं चवन्ति, नन्दादिभ्यो ल्युः, प्रहादिभ्यो चिनिः, पवादिभ्योऽचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as वृच् 'to be happy', वृच् 'to take' and वृच् 'to cook' there are the affixes वृत्तुल्ल (ल्ल) चिनि (चि) and अच (अ) respectively.

The word *ddi* meaning *etotra*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of वृच् class, comes the affix वृत्तुल्ल; after the verbs of वृच् class, comes the affix चिनि; after the verbs of वृच् class, comes the affix अच.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus वृच् + वृत्तुल्ल = वृत्तुल्ल + वृ (I. 3. 3) = वृत्तुल्ल + ल्ल (VI. 1. 1) = वृत्तुल्ल nom. sing. वृत्तुल्लः 'son' (lit what gladdens). So also from the following caus-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names:—वानि—वासनः or वासनः; वदि—वदनः; वृषि—वृषकः (or वृषकः); वाधि—वाधनः; वर्धि—वर्धनः; शोभि—शोभनः and रोधि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names:—वहि—वहनः; तधि—तपनः. दनि—दशनः.

So also the following words:—जल्पनः, रनयः, हर्षय संक्रन्दनः, संक्रयः, संहर्षयः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विभीषणः. लवयः (the ल in लवय is irregular), विसृजिनाशनः, कुलदननः and शत्रुदननः.

The ग्रहादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are however, those v. rbs. —ग्रह्—ग्रहिन् nom ग्रही; उत्तवह्—उत्तवादिन् nom: उत्तवाही; उह्वस्—उह्वादिन्; उद्वास्—उद्वादिन्; स्था—स्थादिन्; सन्त्र—सन्त्रिन्; सन्नर्द—सन्नर्दिन्. So also the verbs रञ्, जृ, वस्, वप्, and ग्रा preceded by नि; as, निरञिन्, निन्नादिन्, निवादिन्, निवापिन्, and निशायिन्. The verbs वाचि, व्याह्, संख्याह् वृज्, वद and वस take णिन् when preceded by the negative particle; as, अवाचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंख्याहारिन्, अवृज्जिन्, अवदादिन् and अवसादिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings: as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विचयिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन्, अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन्.

The following are पचादि words:—पच, वच, वप, वद, चक्ष, तप, पत नदट्, मषट्, बष् गट् पक्षवट्, तट्, घोरट्, ग्राहट्, जर, नर, सर, सन, सूदट्, देवट्, मोरट् सेव, नेष, क्रोच, वृक्ष, दंष्ट, दद्य, दन्त, जारनर, हवपच, नेष, कीष, वप, नद, रज, दीषट्, चरट्.

The ट् in नदट् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः.

अचिधिः सर्वेषामुभयः पट्पठे च पचादयः ।

अव् वाचनार्थमेव स्वात् सिध्यन्ति वचपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अव् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अव्, therefore, debars अव् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the form like वचपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपचञ्चाप्रीकरः कः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपच-ञ्चा-प्री-
किरः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपचैभ्यो जानातेः प्रीचातेः किरतेरच कप्रत्यये नवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by च, व or ञ् (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and वृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (क).

Thus विचिन् + क = विचिन् nom. sing विचिक. So also विचिकः 'inscription'; वृचः 'who knows'; वृचः 'lean'; ज्ञा + क = ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री + क =

अनुपसर्गास्त्रिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिभ्यश्च ॥
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिम्प-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-
साति-साहिभ्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गभ्यो लिम्पादिभ्यः समस्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिम्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायात् ॥

138. The affix च is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिम्प, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिम्पः 'smearing'; विन्दः 'acquiring'; धारयः 'holding'; पारयः 'ferrying'; वेदयः 'knowing'; उदेजयः 'shaking'; चेतयः 'perceiving'; सातयः, and साहयः.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe मल्लिचः; here the affix is क.

Vart.—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix च. As निलिम्पा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart.—The affix च is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः 'Krishna' (protector of cows), अरविन्दः 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः, विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाजो दाजश्च विभाषा समस्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix च is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars च. Thus ददः 'giving'; or दायः 'inheritance'; दधः 'holding' or धायः 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix च is not employed; as मदः, प्रधः.

ज्वलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वल-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वलदीप्तादित्येवमादिभ्यो चातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा समस्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तमेतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with ज्वल 'to shine' and ending with क्त्वा 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix च is optionally employed

The word इति in एवमिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhūdi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Siddhanta Kaumudi.

This debars the affix अच् ; as एवालः or एवलः ; बालः or बलः.

The affix च (ञ) having an indicatory च् causes the vridhhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix च is not used, then अच् is used and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच् ; as प्रज्वलः 'luminous'.

Verb.—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix च ; as अवतान. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तच् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

इयाऽऽद्यधासुसंस्तुतीणअवसावहृल्लिहृल्लिषश्वसश्च॥१४१॥पदानि॥

अया-आद्-व्यध-आस्तु-संस्तु-अतीच्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-ल्लिष-श्वसः, च, (णः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयैङ् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्तु संस्तु अतीच् अवसा अवहृ लिह ल्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च समप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix च is employed after the following verbs also:—इये 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, एवच 'to pierce', आस्तु 'to pain', संस्तु 'to flow', अतीच् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', ल्लिष 'to embrace', and एवच 'to breathe'.

The root इये, before affixes, becomes इया, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ'. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited च. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क् when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb इया,

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', दायः 'inheritance', चायः 'having', व्यायः 'pain', आस्त्रायः 'wound', संस्तायः 'flow', अत्यायः 'transgression', अवश्यायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', लेहः 'licking', र्लेषः embracing श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोर्देर्न्यतेश्चानुपसर्गे समप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix च is employed after the verbs द् 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus दु + ण = दू + ण (VII. 2. 115) = दावः (VII. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी + ण = नी + ण = नावः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रदहः, 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतेष्टेति यत्तदयम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix णच्. Thus ग्रह् + ण = ग्रह् + ण (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing'; 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह् + णच् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

Vart:—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus:—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह + क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहक् 'a house'. The र is changed into ऋ by the rule of *saṃprasāraṇa*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृह meaning 'house' will be गृहानि.

शिल्पिनि ण्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ण्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ण्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शिल्पिनिरञ्जिभ्यः परिणयनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ण्वुन् (उक्) comes after a verb when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart:—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृ 'to dance', खद् 'to dig' and रञ्ज 'to dye'.

Thus नृ + ण्वुन् = नर्त + ण्वुन् (VII. 1. 1) नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter ण्व is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory ण्व form their feminine by the affix ङीष्. Thus

the feminine of नत्क is नत्की; so also खनक: 'miner', fem. खनकी; रजक: 'washer-man', fem रजकी.

In the case of the root रज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahabhashya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृत् and खन्. According to him, the verb रज्ज takes the affix कृन्. Thus रज्ज + कृन् = रज्ज + कु (VI. 4. 37) = रज्ज + जक (VII. 1. 1.) = रजकः, feminine रजकी.

गस्यकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेत्यकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन्. (यक) comes after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गे + यकन् = गायकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

एयुट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एयुट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेर्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

147. The affix एयुट् is also employed after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word ग of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गे + एयुट् = गा + यन (VII. 1. 1.) = गायनः fem. गायनी; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhagā*) relating to गे is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गस्यकन् and एयुट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of एयुट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhaga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हश्चब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः,

(एयुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेर्जिहीतेरच चातोयुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीहौ काले च कर्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हा, also the affix एयुट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा + एयुट् = हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahati* 'leaves off all water') हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udātta is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

प्रसृ (सु) ल्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-सृ-(सु)-
ल्वः, समभिहारे, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सृ (सु) लू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्र 'to go', सृ 'to move', सु 'to flow and लू 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्र+वुन्=प्रो+ञ्जक (VII. 1. 1.)=प्रयकः, so also, सरकः, सज्वकः, and सवकः.

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition, but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गन्धमानायां धातुनाम्नाद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन्=जीवकः 'may he live'; गन्धकः 'may he be happy'.

The word *आशिषि* means a sort of prayer; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

श्री३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयःपादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मण्यम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अच्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोर्गुणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्रीलिकानिभक्त्याचरिभ्यो चः पूर्वपदमकुत्सित्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हेहिदनिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अच् comes after a verbal root, when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikarya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object : as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot'; here दृक् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भम् is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भम् is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikarya* object ; as कारुडलावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda'; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder'; of the second, we have कारुडलावः 'a branch-cutter' and चरुलावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, we have वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापाठः 'the reading of Charchā'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', ज्ञादित्वं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', हिमवतं श्रुति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart:—The affix च comes after the verbs ग्रील, कार्, भवय and धाचर and the noun in composition with it retains its original accent. As मांसव्रीक्षः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसव्रीक्षा ; मांसकायः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकाया ; मांसमक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसमक्षा ; and कर्शसाचारः 'good-conducted', fem कर्शसाचाया.

Vart :—The affix क comes after the roots देख् 'to look' and बर् 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः, 'fem सुखप्रतीक्ष' expecting happiness'; बहुबलः fem. बहुबला' much forbearing'.

हावाकश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ 'हा, वा, मः, च, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेञ्, वेञ्, नाच् यतेभ्यश्च कर्मेण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अच् comes after the root हेञ् 'to call', वेञ् 'to weave', नाच् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2 3); as स्वर्गे + हे + अच् = स्वर्गे + हा + अ = स्वर्गे + हाय = अ (VII. 3 33) = स्वर्गहायः (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicatory क or च follows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long आ'). So also तन्नुवायः, चाप्यनायः ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गे, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो आनुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मेण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long, आ, when there is no upasarga preceding it, and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अच्, ; as गं + दा + क = गं + द + अ = गोदः 'Giver of cows (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64) So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket' चर्मरक्षकः 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गलित्रम् 'what protects the finger' (a thimble).

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोवंदायः 'whom ceremoniously gives a cow', बहवसंदायः who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb वंदा takes the affix अच्.

सुपि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case, not necessarily the accusative. As स्वस्थः = स्वने तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विषमस्थः 'having an inaccessible position.'

- This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—
- (1) रूपि The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word; as हाव्यां पिबति = हि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot.) कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
- (2) भूविष्य The affix क comes after the root ह्य when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first, as the verb ह्य also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आसुनामुत्थानम् = आसुः 'a swarm of rats'; so also मलमेतयः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and भूवि are understood in the sūtras that follow : viz: the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word भूवि everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः,
परिमृज-अपनुदोः; (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोऽपचदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कर्मत्वयो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आसुत्पनुसादरयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मकारणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसर्गस्यापच ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिहृ 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects respectively.

As तुन्द परिहृज् आपले 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकपनुदः पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart:—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart:—The epithet तुन्द परिहृजः is applied to a lazy person; while तुन्द परिमृजः means who clears his navel. So शोकपनुदः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनुदः means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart:—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot,' नवपुणः 'a bow,' काकपुणः 'sesamums,' कुपुणः ((कौ) रोपते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाञ्चः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ञ्चः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ददातिर्ज्ञातिरश्च चातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and चा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण् ; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all ; liberal', अचिप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with road.' The long आ of दा and चा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र' ? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण् ; as गोचन्दाय.

सनिह्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, ह्यः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन्पूर्वात् ह्यया इत्येतस्माद्वातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ह्य 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition च, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ह्य ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3. when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण् as गोचन्दाय (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' ((गा चन्दाय)).

गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिबतिश्च चातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भुराशीन्धोः पिबतिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं वन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गे 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtras 6 and 7 as being unnecessary. This debars क ; of this affix ट् and क are indicative the दृ showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix डीप् (IV. 1. 14.)

As, वक्त्रं गायति = वक्त्र + गा + टक् = वक्त्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Śakra hymns'. वाचनः 'singer of Sāma'. fem. वक्त्रणी and वाचनी ।

Vart :—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words भुरा and शीप् as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus बुराफः fem. बुराफी 'wine-bibber'; ब्रीधुवः fem. ब्रीधुपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā an-l sidhu'? Observe ब्रीधुवा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇī'; formed by the affix च and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by वा.

Why do we say 'when वा means to drink'? When वा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as बुरावा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take इच् but अच्; यज्जवंगायः, वानवङ्गायः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as वा ब्राह्मणी बुरापी or बुरावा भवति तैमां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇī to the regions of her husband who drinks wine.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेष् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्ब्रीधुवपदे उच्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणे यत्किंवाङ्गाङ्कुयवृद्धितोत्तरपटवटीपनुवृद्ध्यदेशपरत्वात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेण धार्यम् ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb वृद् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अच्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus अचं हरति=अचंहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिचुहरः 'an heir'. (इ + अच् = हर + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84)

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अच् will be employed, as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb वृद् when in composition with the word यत्कि 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अङ्कुय 'gold', वृद्धि 'staff', तीक्षर 'an iron club', पट 'jar', पटी 'a small jar', वनुवृ 'a bow'; as यत्किवृद्धः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलवृद्धः 'a plough-man', अङ्कुयवृद्धः 'an elephant driver', वृद्धिवृद्धः 'a staff-bearer', तीक्षरवृद्धः 'a club-bearer', पटवृद्धः, पटीवृद्धः 'a jar-bearer', वनुवृद्धः 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb वृद् when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रवृद्धः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रवाहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गन्धमाने हरतेः कर्मवृत्तपदे उच्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

10. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **इञ्** when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sâtra the verb **इञ्** has the sense of *udyumana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word **कवच्** means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place; as **अस्तिग्रहः** **वय** 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up); **कवचग्रहः** **हस्त्रियकुत्तारः** 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield'; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आडिताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, हरते, अच्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वोद्वरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **इञ्** (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition **आञ्**, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word **ताच्छील्य** means a natural inclination or habitual occupation; as **पुष्पाहारः** 'पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर' 'he who has a natural tendency towards reaching flowers, whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers'; so also **जलाहारः**.

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination'? Otherwise the affix will be **अच्**; as **आरणाहरति** = **आराहारः** 'who brings load.'

अर्हः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं प्रजायां, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **अर्ह** 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars **अच्**. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As **प्रजार्हा** 'deserving of respect', **गन्धार्हा**, **नालाार्हा**.

स्तम्बकर्णयो रनिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रनिजपोः, (सुप्ति, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्ण इत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोः उपपदयोर्वाचसंख्यं रनिजपोर्वात्वोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्तिचक्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रच् 'to sport' and जच् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्भ 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रच् is intransitive and the verb जच् can take an object under very limited circumstances only, namely when the object denotes *Sabala*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvritti of the word सुच् from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvritti of the word कर्ण being inapplicable here.

Vart:—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्भे रजते = स्तम्भेरजतः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णोजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्भे रज्जा 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जडिता मयज्ज. 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यन्मुपपदे धातुनात्राहं धारां विषये ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots, when यच् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As यच् + कृ + अच् = यङ्कुरः lit. 'who does good'. So also यस्मयः यस्मयः ॥ All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvritti from sūtra III. 1 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ट, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word यच् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ट, when यच् is an *upapada*, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of यङ्कुर will be यङ्कुरा, and not यङ्कुरी, which, had the affix been ट, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). यङ्कुरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकारयो श्लेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकारयो, श्लेतेः, (सुप्ति, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येतेर्धातोर्धकारणे सुबन्त उपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वदिषु पञ्चलोमानम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्बन्तद्विष्वक् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्तृषु ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ ङङ्प्रत्ययः ॥

15. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **यी** 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word **सुप्** (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As **से येते=सद्यः** 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **यी** when in composition with the words **पार्श्व** 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as **पार्श्वे येते=पार्श्वजः** 'who reclines on his sides', **उदरे जयः** 'who lies on his stomach', **पृष्ठे जयः** 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb **यी** is preceded by the word **दिग्बन्त**; as **दिग्बन्त सद्येते=दिग्बन्तसद्यः** ॥

Vart.—So also when the words **उत्तान** &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As **उत्तानः येते=उत्तानजः** । **अवसूह्यं येते=अवसूह्यजः**.

Vart.—In the *Chhandas* the affix **ङ** comes after the verb **यी** when in composition with the word **गिरि** in the locative. As **गिरौ येते=गिरिजः** 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter **ङ** of **ङ** is indicative denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोर्धकारणे सुबन्त उपपदे ङप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix **ट** comes after the verb **चर्** 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhikarana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As **कुंरुषु चरति=कुंरुचरः** 'who goes among the Kurus', **मद्रचरः** 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix **ट** the real affix is **ञ**, the letter **ट** being indicative, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix **नीप्**. (See. IV. 1. 41.) as, **कुंरुचरी**, **मद्रचरी** ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,
च, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदेषु चरेर्भातोहप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvṛtti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्तेः,
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदेषु सर्तेर्भातोहप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb चर् 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुर, अग्रतः and अग्रे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति=पुरः सरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सर्तेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेष्वपदे कर्त्तृ वाचिगुणपदे सर्तेर्भातोहप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19 The affix ट comes after the verb चर् 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वेः सरति=पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix कच् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति=पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कृजो हेतुताच्छीत्यानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, हेतु-ता-
च्छीत्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतेर्भातोहप्रत्ययो भवति हेतौ ताच्छीत्ये आनुलोम्ये च कर्मण्यपदे ॥

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृञ् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छीत्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. अनुलोप्य comes from अनुलोप meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकरं वनं 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have आह्वारः 'who performs obsequies'; अर्थकरः 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुलोप्य, we have प्रेषकरः 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकरः 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अच्. As कुम्भकारः 'potter', नगरकारः 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिलिपिलिखि-
बलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्रसंख्याजङ्घाबाहुहयंतदुनुरक्षु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-कि-
लिपि-लिखि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-
धनुस्-अ-रक्षु, (कर्मणि, छुपि, करोते, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिपूपपदे कर्तातेर्धातोर्ह्रस्वयोः भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कृजोऽप्यिवधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:—
दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भाः 'light',
कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु
'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किं 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिखि
'writing', बलि oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'paint-
ing', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु
'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow', and अरक्षु
'wound'.

Both the words 'karma' and 'sup' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकरः 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the upapada, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकरः 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकरः 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकरः 'the sun'; भास्करः 'the sun' (the letter व is not changed into visarga, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकरः 'agent'; अन्तकरः 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकरः 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकरः 'the creator'; बहुकरः 'the busy'; नान्दीकरः 'the speaker of benediction'; किङ्करः 'a servant'; लिपिकरः 'a

scribe'; लिखिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice', भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तुंकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; क्षेत्रकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing'; द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जहाकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; जहकरः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; बधुकरः 'bow-maker'; आघटकरः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अच् comes after the verb कृ when किर, वद्, लद् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of ट affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किहुरा, यत्करा, तत्करा, and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the अजादि class (See IV. 1. 31).

कर्मणि भूतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भूतौ, (कर्मणि, करोते;

टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्यब्द उपपदे कर्मवर्गिणि करोतिट्प्रत्ययो भवति वृत्तौ गन्धमानायाच् ॥

22. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word वृत्ति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अच्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमन्त्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥

न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मन्त्र-पदेषु, (करोते, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिपुपपदेषु करोतिट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ट does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', अलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix ट being prohibited, the general affix अच् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who fomented quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakṛita verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चाटुकारः 'flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapāṭha'.

स्तम्बशकृतीरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (क-
र्म्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोऽपपदयोरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वीद्वित्सयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत् 'ordure',

Thus स्तम्ब + कृ + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः ; so also शकृत्करिः.

Part.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकृत्करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf' the affix अन् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः,
पशौ, (कर्मणि; इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोऽपपदयोः, हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb हृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अन् is employed; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिरात्मन्भरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मन्भरिः,
च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मन्भरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मन्भरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह् and making the nipapada end in the vowel य. Thus फलानि ग्रह्णाति = फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word **आत्मभक्षिः** is formed by adding the augment **आ** (अ) to the upapada **आत्म**, and the affix **इष्** to the verb **भुज्**. Thus **आत्मभक्षिः** = **आत्मभक्षिः** 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As **कुक्षिभक्षिः** 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). **उदरभक्षिः** 'gluttonous, selfish'.

कृत्स्नि वनवनरक्षिभयात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्स्नि, वन-वन-रक्षि-भयात्, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन वन संभक्षी, रक्ष पालते, नय विलोडने, इत्येभ्यः कर्त्तर्यप्रत्यये कर्त्स्नि विषये इन् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix **इष्** comes after the verbs **पू** 'to honor' **वृ** 'to worship' **रक्ष्** 'to protect' and **नय्** 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus **वृक्षभक्षिः** त्वा **वृक्षभक्षिः** (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); **उत नो गोषणिं** (Rig. Ved. VI. 58. 10) **वै ते खानो षणिरखो** (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) **इन्द्रो वातमानमवध** **पारावरो दधिर्गयोनाम** (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एज् कर्त्तव्ये इत्यस्याद् एयन्तात्कर्त्तर्यप्रत्यये खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातशुनीतिलगुर्ज्वलवेद् तुदजरादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix **खश्** comes after the verb **एज्** 'to tremble' when ending in **णि** (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of **एज्**. Of the affix **खश्** the letters **ख्** and **प्** are indicatory, the real affix is **ञ**. The **ख्** indicates that the augment **उ** is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The **ञ** indicates that this is a **Sārvadhātuka** affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaranas like **ञच्** &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus **अङ्गमेजयति** = **अङ्गमेजयः** (अङ्ग + एजि + यप् + खश् = अङ्ग + एजि + ञ + ख) 'who awes the limbs'; **जनमेजयः** 'who awes mankind'.

Varṭ:—The affix **खश्** comes after the verbs **अग** 'to go', **षेद्** 'to suck', **वृद्** 'to strike', **हृ** 'to leave' when in composition with the words **वात** 'wind', **शुनी** 'a bitch', **तिल** 'sesamum' and **जड** 'flatulence'. As **वातवजाः** **वृगाः** 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); **शुनिभयः** 'a bitch-sucker', **तिलतुदः** 'an oilman'; **जडफलहा** **जायः** 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long **इ** of **शुनी** is shortened by VI. 3, 66.

नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्नाधिदोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,
ध्ना-धिदोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मकोरपपदयोर्ध्नाधिदोर्धात्वोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेदः ॥ नासिकायां ध्नाधश्च धेदश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs ध्ना 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तन 'breast', are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāsaṅkhyā* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेदः; as (स्तन + धे + खश् = स्तन + धुश् + धे + खश् + खश् = स्तन + ख् + धश् + ख + ख) = स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्ना and धे; as नासिका + ध्ना + खश् = नासिक + ख् + धन + ख (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78 = नासिकधनः 'blowing and breathing through the nose. So also नासिकधयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāsaṅkhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84 the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनधयः is स्तनधयी, as the verb धे has an indicatory ट् ।

नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मणि,
ध्ना-धिदोः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतेभ्योः कर्मकोरपपदयोर्ध्नाधिदोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्ना and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāsaṅkhyā*; for मुष्टि being a चि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिधनः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिधनः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिधयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिधयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus चटिधनः, चटिधयः, खारिधनः, खारिधयः, वातधनः, वातधयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेदः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ ध्नाधश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ध्नाधश्च धेदश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि धेदोः खश्चि विवक्षितम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः,
(लश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदो भङ्गे, वह प्रापणे, रुताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मव्युपपदे लश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix लश् comes after the verbs उद् 'to break into pieces' and वह् 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उद्, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्भजति = कूलमुद्भजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्बहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहाम्ने लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अम्ने, लिहः ॥ (लश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अन्न इत्येतयोः कर्मव्योपपदयोः लिहोर्भातोः लश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix लश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अन्न 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अन्नलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, लश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थादि, तस्मिन्कर्मव्युपपदे पचेः लश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix लश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थंपचाः 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also द्वेष्टनपचः, क्षारिणपचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, लश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मव्योपपदयोः पचेः लश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix लश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितनपचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brahmani who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmani'; नखनपचा चवानुः the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विध्वंसरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि, लश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरु इत्येतयोः कर्मव्योपपदयोः तुदोर्भातोः लश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35 The affix खच् comes after the verb वृह् 'to strike', when चिह्न 'the moon' or अक्ष 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As चिह्नवृहः राहुः 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon'; अक्षवृहः 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment वृह after the word अक्ष, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः, दृशि-लपोः, (कर्मणि, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मकोट्यपवादयोः दृशितयोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खच् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ललाट are the words in composition with it as object.

Thus असूर्य + दृश् + खच् = असूर्यखरयः; as असूर्यखरया राजदारा 'the king's wives not even see the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटतपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्ये is an incomplete or impossible compound as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश् and not to the word सूर्य. This is in opposition to the rule of *samaratha pada vidhi* (II 1. 2.)

उग्ररूपश्चयेरन्मदपाणिन्धनाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्ररूपश्च-येरन्मद-पाणिन्धनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्ररूपश्च येरन्मद पाणिन्धन इत्येते षड्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. The words उग्ररूपश्च, येरन्मद and पाणिन्धन are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्र परयति = उग्ररूपश्चः 'fierce-looking'; येरया यदति = येरन्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धनाः चम्पानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश् इत्येतयोः कर्मकोट्यपवादयोर्धेयातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गतोः सुप्पुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विद्यायतोः विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्च द्विधा यत्तस्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दे च विद्यायतो विद्यादेयो यत्तस्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वद् 'to speak' when मिय or वच् is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus मिय वदति = मियवद्: 'who speaks kindly'; वचवद्: 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment लुक् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI 4. 94):

In the case of मिय and वच् with वद्, the affix खच् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खच्.

Vart:—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As नितंगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving i. e., an elephant'; नितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she elephant'.

Vart:—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायम्; and the latter is then replaced by the word विद्. As विहायता गच्छति = विहंगता: 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart:—In the *Vartikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंग: or विहंगन: 'a bird'. So also भुजंगन: or भुजंग: 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly)'.
Vart:—विहायम् is replaced by विद् when the affix ड (III. 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहंग: 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहंग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गच्।

द्विषत्परयास्तापे: ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,
 (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्दपोरपपदयोस्तापेर्घातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat' when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb ताप् belongs both to *Bhu* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhvādi*, the verb ताप् is the causative ending in चि of दच्; while in *Churādi*, all verbs take चि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति = द्विषन्तवः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies' so also चरन्तवः 'one who subdues his enemies. a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix खच् will be employed ; as द्विषती तावयति = द्विषतीतावः ।

वाचि यमो वृते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, वृते, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मव्युपपदे वनेर्वातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति वृते गन्धमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow:

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sāstra. Thus वाचं वन आरते 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence.'

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्वाचः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूः सर्वयोदोरिषहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दाग्-सहोः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर् सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मव्युपपदार्थवाचक्यं दारिषहोर्वातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मने च दारैरिति ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verb दारि 'to split' and वच् 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पूर 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पूरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वं सहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart:—So also when the word वन is in composition with the verb दारि; as वनन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलान् करीषेषु कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अन्-करीषेषु, कषः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं कूलं अन्न करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मव्युपपदेषु कर्त्तव्योः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अन्न 'cloud', and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकषः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलं कषा नदी 'a river'; अन्नं कषो गिरिः 'mountain'; करीषं कषा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कृजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कृजः,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्तृसूचकेषु कृजः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भयादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud' ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघर्त्तः 'producing clouds'; ऋत्तिकरः 'giving pain', भयर्त्तः 'frightful'

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of *upapadas* like खच्. &c. This is an exception to the *zartika* under 1.1 72. by which, in the case of affixes *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have खभयर्त्तः 'who causes security'.

हेनप्रियसुद्रेष्ण च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेन-प्रिय-सुद्रे, अण्, च,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेन प्रिय सुद्रे इत्येतेषु कर्तृसूचकेषु करोतेरन्तप्रत्ययो चकारात् खच् ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words हेन 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and सुद्रे 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus हेनकारः or हेनर्त्तः 'propitious'; प्रियकारः or प्रियर्त्तः 'showing kindness'; सुद्रेकारः or सुद्रेर्त्तः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix इ of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई; as अण्पारम्भाः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः,

करणभावयोः, (खच्, सुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे भुवन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्भावाः कटणे भावे चार्थे खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुप्' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशित्वी भवती अनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृतृवृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां,
भृ-तृ-वृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मणि, भुपि, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ तृ वृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46 The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. धृ 'to bear', वृ 'to cross over', चृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मणि and भुपि of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विरयंहर 'earth' (that which supports all); रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sāma'; पतिंवरा 'a girl' lit (who is about to choose a husband); यत्तुजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); युगंवरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; यत्तुसहः 'Satrunsaḥa' (withstanding an enemy); यत्तुतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy); अरिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बधारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (भुपि, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः भुतृपदे संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-
अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व, अनन्तेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु गमेर्धप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणी सर्वत्रपन्नयोः सप्तसंख्यानाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डस्यो लोपश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदुर्गोपचकारणे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निरोदधे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इमकारोऽन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गच्छ 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects:— अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अश्वत् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अत्यन्तगः 'going too fast'; अश्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त + गच्छ + ड = अन्त + ग् + अ (the टि portion अच् of गच्छ is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a अ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गच्छ here is not one of those called अ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart:—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere'; and पन्न 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पन्नगः 'a snake'.

Vart:—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस् + गच्छ + ड = उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart:—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart:—So also with the preposition निम्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निम्गः 'a country'.

Vart:—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यनारगः (स्त्री + अन्तार + गच्छ + ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुतरुणगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गच्छनामादां हन्तेर्भातोः कर्मप्रत्ययपदे ड प्रत्ययो नवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दारापादोऽश्वत्स्य च डः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चारी वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि सति च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हर 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमिं वध्याद् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; यन्नुद् = 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have यन्नुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart.—The affix अल् comes after the verb आहद् when the word दाव 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As दाव आहन्ति = दावाघाटः (दाव + आहद् + अल्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word वार 'beautiful' is in composition under circumstances detailed in the last *vārtika*: as वारवाघाटः or वारवाघातः ।

Vart.—So also, when the verb हर is preceded by the preposition च्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अल् is employed; and the final is replaced by ट; as चर्चार् 'संहन्ति' = चर्चसंघाटः or चर्चसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः; (कर्मणि, हनः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाङ्गान्तेः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोऽपपदयोर्द्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हर 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अच्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् darkness.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer, i. e., the son'; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer, i. e., the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्धिनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, धिनिः; (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्षे हन्त्येतयोः अपपदयोः हन्तेर्धिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix धिनि comes after the verb हर 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child' or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार + हर् + णिनि = कुमार + बात + हर् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारबातिन् nom. sing. कुमारबाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्ष + बातिन् nom. sing. शीर्ष-बाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस् ।

लक्षणे जायापत्योऽङ्क् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः;
टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्त्तृशेषपदयोर्लक्षणेवतिर्कर्त्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हर् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्त्तरि or लक्षणेवति कर्त्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नी 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ट् and क् are indicative. The ट् shows that the feminine is formed by ई, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हर्. Thus जाया + हर् + टक् = जाया + हर् + अ (VI. 4. 98) = जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च (टक्,
हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानाहुन्तेर्होः कर्त्तृशेषपदे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हर् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकाक्षकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाणिरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. श्लेष्मघ्नं चक्षु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तघ्नं घृत 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe आसुषातः सुहः 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills mice). Here the affix is अङ्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following ? चीरघातो हस्ती 'an elephant' (i. e. who kills a thief) Here the word is formed by the affix क् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krit* affix.

शक्ती हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ती, हस्ति-कपा
(वा)टयोः, (हनः, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्ती गच्छानायां हस्तिकपा (वा) टयोः कर्त्तव्योपपदयोर्दन्तेटक्प्रत्ययो लभति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb ह् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

The sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः = हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटघ्नः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated' ? Observe चिरेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is क्.

पाणिघाताडघी शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडघी,
शिल्पिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडघ इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

पाणिघकश्च ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानश्च ॥

55. The word पाणिघ and ताडघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क् is employed after the verb ह् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of ह् i. e. अन् is elided, and ह् is changed into च irregularly. Thus पाणि + ह् + क् = पाणि + ह् + क् = पाणिघः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडघः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer' ? Observe पाणिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

- *Vart* :—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection ; राजघः 'a regicide'.

आदयडुभगस्यूतपलितनग्नान्धप्रियेषु च्यर्थेऽन्यथौ कूलः करणे
रुयुन् ॥ ५६ पदानि ॥ आदय-डुभग-स्यूत-पलित-नग्न-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, चित्र-अ-
र्थेषु, अकूतौ, कूलः, करणे, रुयुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आह्यादिषु कर्त्तृसूचकपदेषु, क्ययर्थेऽवक्यन्तेषु करोतेर्द्धातोः कश्चि, कारके क्युत्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

56. The affix क्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects :— आढ्य 'rich', सुख्य 'fortunate', बृह्य 'big' पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and मित्र 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix चि, though not actually ending in the affix चि.

The affix चि (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verb भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The चि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in चि and words not ending in चि. Both may have the force of चि. In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in चि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix चि, but have the force of चि are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आह्यं + कृ + क्युन् = आह्यं + कृ + अन् = आह्यंकरचि 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich. viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुख्यंकरचि 'making happy'; बृह्यंकरचि 'by which one becomes big'; पलितकरचि 'rendering grey'; नग्नंकरचि 'making naked'; अन्धंकरचि 'making blind'; मित्रंकरचि 'showing kindness.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix चि'? Otherwise आह्य तैलेन कुर्वन्ति i. e., अन्धयजन्ति 'they anoint with oil. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely, with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of चि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix चि'? Observe आह्यी कुर्वन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix क्युन् is not employed,

It might be objected : 'well if क्युन् is not used then the affix क्युद् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between क्युन् and क्युद्; both having the efficient portion कृ; what is then the use of prohibiting चि? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix क्युन् is not employed the affix क्युद् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix क्युद् is also prohibited. The prohibition of चि in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Pātañjail observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between स्तुद् and स्तुर्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नञ्, स्तनञ्, ईङ्, ञङ् and स्तुर् take ई in the feminine as the words स्तन and स्तन. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsas*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment तुर्. For it being an indeclinable, तुर्, cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्त्तरि भुवः खिष्णुचक्षुकौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, भुवः,
खिष्णुचक्षुकौ, (आद्यादिषु) ॥

हृत्तिः ॥ आह्यादिषु शुभस्तेष्वप्यदेष्टव्यं येष्वेव न भवतेर्हातोः कर्तरि कारको विरचय
शुक्रञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes **विभू** and **बु**, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb **भू** 'to be come', when it is in composition with words **आद्य** &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix **वि** though not ending in **वि**.

Thus आद्यस्वविष्णु: 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आद्य-
स्वविष्णु: 'becoming rich'; सुखस्वविष्णु: or -स्वविष्णु: 'becoming happy'; स्वयस्वविष्णु: or
-स्वविष्णु: 'becoming big'; पलितस्वविष्णु: or -स्वविष्णु: 'becoming grey'; मलस्वविष्णु: or
-स्वविष्णु: 'becoming naked'; अन्धस्वविष्णु: or -स्वविष्णु: 'becoming blind'; प्रियस्वविष्णु: or
-स्वविष्णु: 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of **वि**, otherwise not; as **आद्यूय सविता** 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in ज्ञि; आदयी भविता

स्पृशीऽनुदके किन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, किन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशेर्घातोऽनुदके सुबन्तउपपदे क्तिन्मत्यथे भवति ॥

58. The affix **स्निग्ध** comes after the verb **स्पर्श** 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than **पानी** 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvṛitti* of the word वृत्ति is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvṛitti* of the word वृत्ति instead of वृत्ति, because the verb वृत्ति is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्त्तृ ought to come by sūtra 4' ? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of बुद्धि in this case ; because the word कर्त्तरि of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments, &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter.' स्पृश् + क्तिर + तु = स्पृश् + वि + o (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + o (VI. 1. 57, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns'; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पृक्; here we have the general affix अक्.

The र् of क्तिर is to distinguish this affixes from affixes like क्तिप् &c. For, had it been merely क्ति, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used क्ति प्रत्ययस्य तु, and it would have been ambiguous, for क्ति might be explained as meaning both क्ति and क्तिप् as क्य means क्यप्, क्यप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, र् is added to make a distinctive affix. The र् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllable would of itself have taken that accent.

अतिविक्रमस्त्रिगुणिकं युजिक्कुञ्चां च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥

अतिविक्र-दधृक्-स्त्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्जु-युजि-कुञ्चाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतिविक्रमः पञ्चमन्त्रः क्तिप्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे चतस्रो भाववो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words अतिविक्र 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्त्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिर; and so also after the verbs अञ्जु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and अञ्जु 'to approach', the affix क्तिर is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus अञ्जु + यञ् + क्तिर = अतिविक्र 'he who performs sacrifice in the reason (अन्तः) or to the season (अनुच). This word, however, is a वृत्ति word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. घृ + क्तिर = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. घृ + क्तिर = स्त्रक्. Here there is augment अच्. दृ + क्तिर = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निह + क्तिर = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix क्तिर comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्जु, and कुञ्च. Being read along with the five above mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्तिर to these verbs. Thus the affix क्तिर comes after अञ्जु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As यत् + अञ्जु + क्तिर = माय् nom. sing. माय् (VI. 4. 24; VII. 1. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east'; so also मय्य् 'west'; उर्य् 'north'.

The affix क्तिन् comes after युञ्जिच् and कृञ्च् when these are uncombined. Thus युञ्ज्+क्तिन्=युञ्ज्. In nominative singular, युञ्ज्+उ=युञ्ज+उ (VII. 1. 71)=युञ्ज्+० (VI. 1. 68)=युञ्ज् (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root युञ्ज् is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix क्तिप् (see sūtra 61). As अश्वयुञ्ज् 'yoked with horses'.

So also कृञ्च्+क्तिन्=कृञ्च्, nom. sing. कृञ्, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the ञ् (VI. 4. 24) of कृञ्च् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु द्वितीयानालोचने कञ्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु, द्वितीयः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, (क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीन्पदेषु द्वितीयानालोचनेऽर्थाद्वर्तमानात् कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्तिन्च ॥

60. And the affix कञ् come after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with त्यद् &c, and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the क्तिन् also comes under similar circumstances. त्यद् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus त्यादृश् nom. sing. यादृक्, 'such-like' when it is formed by क्तिन्; and त्यादृचः 'such like' when the affix is कञ्. So also तद्+दृश्+क्तिन्=तादृश् (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. तादृक् (VI. 1. 68. VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and तादृचः when कञ् is the affix. So यादृक् or यादृचः 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter ञ् of कञ्? It is for the sake of accent; the *udatta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicative ञ् or ञ् (VI. 1. 117). But the indicative ञ् would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कञ् and कञ् in this respect. The indicative ञ् then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कञ् from कञ् in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which कञ् is taken and not कञ्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कञ्करण of that sūtra, we should have read कञ् करण so that the feminine of words formed by कञ् would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of यावकः (याव+कञ् V. 4. 29) would have been यावकी instead of यावका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See तं पश्यति=तदृश्यः 'who sees that'. The words त्यादृक्, तादृश् &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart:—This rule applies also when the words चवान् and अन्व्य are in composition with दृश्. 'As चदृक् or चदृचः 'like' (चवान्+दृश्+क्तिन्=च+दृश् VI. 3. 89); so also अन्व्यादृचः or अन्व्यादृक् 'of another kind'.

Vart :—The affix कृप् comes also after the root दृष्. As तादृक्, वादृक्, अन्वादृक् and कीदृक् : तद्+दृष्+कृप्=ता+दृष्+कृप् (VI. 3. 91)=तादृक्+क् (VIII. 2. 36)=तादृक्+क् (VIII. 2. 41)=तादृक्+क् (VIII. 3. 59)=तादृक् :

सत्सूक्ष्मद्रुहद्रुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि कृप् ॥
 ६१ ॥ वदानि ॥ सत्-सू-क्ष्म-द्रुह-द्रुह-युज-विद-भिद-च्छिद-जि-नी-राजाम् ;
 उपसर्गे, अपि, कृप्, (अपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदादिभ्यो वातुभ्यः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि कृप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix कृप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz :—सत् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', दृष् 'to hate', द्रुह 'to bear malice', दध् 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्त्तृ is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i. e. they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*inapaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not inculcate an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with दृष् shows that वदादि class verb is meant here, and not वृदादि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिद् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicatory च् (विद्च्) while all these verbs have indicatory अ.

Thus, सत्-सूचिषत् 'dwelling in purity'; अन्तरिक्षत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kath. 5. 2); उपसत् 'serving'. सू-अण्डसूः 'oviparous'; सत्सूः 'bringing forth hundred'; मसूः 'parent'. द्विप्-निमद्विद् 'treacherous'; मद्विद् 'hostile'. द्रुह-निमद्रुह 'treacherous'; मद्रुह 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). दध्-गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; मधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्-अश्वयुक् 'carriage'; मयुक् 'impulse'. विद्-वेदविद् 'knower; of Veda'; मविद् 'knower'; ब्रह्मविद् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्-काष्ठभिद् 'wood-cutter' मभिद् 'cutter'. छिद्-रज्जुच्छिद् 'rope-cutter'; मच्छिद् 'a cutter'. जि-यत्रुजिद् 'enemy-conqueror'; मजिद् 'conqueror'. नी-सेनानी 'leader of army'; मनीः 'a leader'; ग्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral च in these words? Because the word ग्रामणी has a cerebral च in

sūtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have च, as also by sūtra VIII. 4. 3). सङ्-विराट् 'splendour'; वज्राट् 'emperor' (the letter च is added by sūtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भक्षे विवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्षः, विवः (उपसर्गे, छपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्षेर्भातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि विवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix विव come after the verb भक्ष् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sūtra. As भक्ष् = अर्द्धभाक् nom. sing. अर्द्धभाक् 'sharing a half. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुपि, विवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दाश्च विषये चक्षेर्भातोः सुबन्त उपपदे विवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix विव comes after the verb चक्ष् 'to hear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As चुर + चक्ष् + विव = चुरावाच् nom. sing. चुरावाच् 'name of Indra'. The dental च is changed into cerebral ञ by VIII. 3. 58, and the च into छ by VIII. 2. 31. The final च of चुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I 175. 2, III 43. 5.

वह्मव ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, विवः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षेर्भातोः छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे विवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix विव after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As वह्मवाच् 1st sing. वह्मवाच् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so दित्त्ववाच् ।

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of चक्ष्. See Yajur, Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ज्युट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ज्युट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये चक्षेर्भातोः कृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ज्युट् come after

the verb चर when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', उरीच 'faeces' and उरीच 'water'

As कव्यवाहनः चित्वाद् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; उरीचवाहनः 'carrier' of water; [उरीचवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44.) The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

इव्येऽनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, यहः, ज्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इव्यवाहदे उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वदेर्वातोऽनुट्मत्वयो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चेद्वि-
वर्त्तते ॥

66. The affix ज्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb चर 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word कव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च इव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2.)

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is इव्यवाह्, which is, derived by adding the affix रिष (sūtra 64). As इव्यवाहग्निश्चरः चित्वा नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda III. 2. 2.)

जनसन्तानक्रान्तगो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन्-सन्-
क्रान्त-गतः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो वाङ्मुक्त्वाः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्मत्वयो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs चर 'to be born', चर 'to bestow', चर 'to dig', चर 'to pace' and चर 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long वा.

The words, छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and चर are understood in this sūtra. The verb चर includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also चर means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन, चर &c. is replaced by long वा when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VII. 67.

As अद् + जद् + विट् = जडाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven i. e., God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from जद्—गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो वृषा जति 'O Indra bestower of cows ! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From जद्—विचखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कुचलाः 'digger of well'. From कद् दधिक्ताः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गद्—अग्नेना उग्नेतृवाग् 'the leader.'

अदोऽनन्ने ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ने, (जुधि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदेर्वातोऽनन्ने जुध्पचपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvr̥tti* of the word 'Ohhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra.

Thus आननन्ति = आनाद् 'eating raw food'; जस्याद् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नाद् 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix जद् (III 2. 1)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यवचपदे उपचपदे अदेर्वातोर्विट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यवन्ति = क्रव्याद् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of जद्पच (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix जद् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix जद् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्याद् which is evidently formed by the affix विट्? The affix जद् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्याद् means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i. e., a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while अन्नाद् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्याद् in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under एवोदरादि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कचघ्नश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कच्-घः, च, (जुधि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुदेर्वातोः दुध्पचपदे कच्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारवचान्तादेहः ॥

70. The affix कच् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कानदुधा वेतु: 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्चदुधा, चर्चदुधा ।

संज्ञे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो रिबन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञे,
श्वेतवह-उक्थशस्-पुरोडाशः, रिबन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह उक्थशस् पुरोडाश इत्येतेभ्यो रिबन् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञे विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां इत्यदस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix रिबन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्थशस् पुरोडाश्.

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada; the fact of their being so given indicated that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix रिबन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति=श्वेतवाह्, nom. sing. श्वेतवा: 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix रिबन् is applied to the verb वच् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्थ as object or instrument; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्थानि उक्थैर्वा वचति=उक्थवाच्, nom. sing. उक्थवा: (Rig. Ved. II, 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The रिबन् is applied after the verb दाच् 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and द् is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दायन्ति एनं=पुरोडाह्, nom. sing. पुरोडा: (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2.) 'an offering'.

Vart:—The augment डच् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the pada affixes follow. Thus before pada terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवह् । Therefore its instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment डच् is not applied before अर्चनान्वाह and च terminations, As श्वेतवाहो, श्वेतवाहः ।

अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (रिबन्, सन्ज्ञे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्निबन् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix रिबन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अच्.

As अवयाज्, nom. sing. अवया: (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as त्वं यजे वरुणस्यावया अचि 'Thou art the priest of varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti*

of वच only runs. This word is thus declined :—

	sing.	dual.	plural.
1st.	अवयाः,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
2nd.	अवयाजं,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
3rd.	अवयाजा,	अवयोभ्यां.	अवयोभिः

विजुपे कन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, कन्दसि ॥

धृतिः ॥ उपउपपदे यजेरकन्दसि विचये विच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb वच when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयङ्निर्गुणं इहति 'they carry it up with the उपयङ् formulas'. उपयङ् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvritti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicative and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called चि (which includes क्तिच्, क्तिप्, रिच, विच्), as in the sūtra वेरपृक्तस्य (VI. I. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयङ् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो मनिन्कनिडमनिपश्च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्, कनिप्-वनिपः, च, (कन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥

धृतिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो चातुष्कः सुपुपपदे कन्दसि विचये मनिन् कनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्ययो भवन्ति अकाराद्विचि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(वच्), कनिप्(वच्), वनिप्(वच्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुदा + मनिन् = सुदानच्, 1st. sing. सुदाना (Rig. VI. 20. 7.) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्या + मनिन् = अश्वस्यान्च्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्याना 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुवा + कनिप् = सुवी + वच् (VI. 4. 66) = सुवीवच्, 1st. sing. सुवीवा 'having good understanding'; सुवा + वनिप् = सुवीवच्, 1st. sing. सुवीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + दा + वनिप् = भूरिदावच्, 1st. sing. भूरिदावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावच् 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलात + पा + विचच् = कीलातपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker', सुसवाः (Rig. IV. 8. 6, and Pāṇini VII,

3. 46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्योपदा: 'an offering of Rāma.' (see sūtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यन्ते,
(ननिच्, कनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि चातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो ननिच् कनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते,
विच् च ॥

75. These affixes viz. ननिच्, कनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long वा.

The word कन्दचि is not understood here. As दु + च् 'to injure' + ननिच् = दुश्चर्च, 1st. 'sing दुश्चर्चा 'who destroys well i. e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर् + च् 'to go' + कनिप् = प्रातर + इत् + वच् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरित्वच्, 1st. sing. प्रातरित्वा 'who goes early'. वि + ज् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वच् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावच्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. अग्नेगावा 'who goes before'. रिच् + विच् = रेच् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेङ् 'who injures'; as in रेङ्चि वच् नये: (Yajur Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms: that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As चीवा, चीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वेषां तुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरूपपदेभ्यश्च कन्दचि भाषावां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapad or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखावा: खंवते = उखाखद् (VI. 4. 24.) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णध्वद् 'falling from the leaves'; वाहाद् अयति = वाहायद्, 1st. sing. वाहायद् 'falling from car'. The वा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved, I. 3. 8.

स्यः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, क, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या इत्येतस्माद्वातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb स्य when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4. स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of, prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sūtra III. 2. 14. prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus चस्वः and चस्वाः । But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved ; for, with the upapada च्च, the verb स्था would have taken the affix अच् III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजाती णिनिस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ यदानि ॥ सुपि, अजाती,
णिनिः, ताच्छील्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुप्यन्त उपपदे ताच्छील्ये गन्धवानि चातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिग्वानादि मत्तैश्चरुदानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उच्य + भुञ् + णिनि = उच्यभोजिन्, 1st sing. उच्यभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also वीतभोजी &c

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणाना-
मन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brāhmanas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयी.

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उच्य भुङ्क्ते
कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvritti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अमुनायिन्, अमुनीविन्, उचनीविन् &c,

Vart :—The verb आचृ in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदाचारिन्, fem. उदाचारिणी, its plural उदाचारिण्यः. So also प्रत्याचारिणी, pl. प्रत्याचारिण्यः ।

Vart :—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker' ; साधुदायी 'giving liberally'.

Vart :—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन् in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्तुर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ यदानि ॥ कर्तरि, उपमाने, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे चातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word deonting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उद्गृह्व क्रोशति = उद्गृह्वक्रोशिव् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; क्रावन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अन्नपानिव मद्यवति खावान् 'he eats *māsha* like *apupa*'. Here अन्नपानिव is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उद्गृह्व क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (घातोः, वुपि, खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते मद्यपाने दुबन्त उद्गृह्वे घातोर्विनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix खिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्वपिडलमायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अन्नान्नपानेन who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srāddha ceremony.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्वपिडले येते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2. 78. applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ये, (खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ये मद्यपाने घातोर्बहुलं खिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix खिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्य means continued repetition that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिको मात्सरः 'the people of Gāadhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कषाय + पा + खिनि = कषाय + पा + वुक् + खिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिक उशीमरः 'the people of Usināra are milk-drinkers'. क्षीर-पायिको बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुक्षपायकः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः; (सुप्ति, चिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्वतः सुवन्त उपपदे चिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix चिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'सुप्ति' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; सोमनसानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divâdi or Tanâdi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely चानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खञ् there would be difference of form owing to the vikarāṇa. i. e., in the 4th conjugation खञ् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्मनाने खञ्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनाने, खञ्, च, (दर्शानेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनाने वर्त्तमानान्मन्वतेः सुप्युपपदे खञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारादिचिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खञ् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्मनान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix चिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्वः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; परितुष्टमन्वः or परितुष्टमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तस्य यज्जदत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta'.

Of the affix खञ् the letter ख causes वृत्त augment by VI. 3. 66; and म् makes it a sârvadhâtuka affix, which brings in the proper vikarāṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने सङ्घट्टि यावत्, वदित कर्तुं ननु कविष्वानः भूत इत्येवं लङ्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikāra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvritti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb वच्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix क्तिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निहोत्रेनेहवां = अग्निहोत्रयाजि 'who has sacrificed with an Agnistoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निहोत्रेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnistoma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (क्तिनिः, भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतेर्धातोः करणउपपदे क्तिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix क्तिनि comes after the verb वच् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvritti of क्तिनि and not of वच् is to be read into this sūtra. As अग्निहोत्रयाजिद् 'who has sacrificed with Agnistoma'. Here Agnistoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मेणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेणि, हनः, (क्तिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेणि उपपदे हन्तेर्धातोर्क्तिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix क्तिनि comes after the verb वच् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पित्रुवधयातिद् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलयातिद् 'who has killed his maternal uncle', हच् + क्तिनि = वच् + क्तिनि (VII. 3. 54) = वत् + क्तिनि (VII. 3. 32) = वात्ति (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हत्वाद् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvritti of the word कर्मेणि of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभूषणवृत्तेषु क्तिप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूषण-वृत्तेषु, क्तिप् ;

(कर्मेणि; हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मेणुपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्तिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb वच् 'to kill'.

with the sense of past; time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: वृक्ष 'a Brāhmana' ब्रूष 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vritra'.

As वृक्षवत्, 1st. sing वृक्षदा 'who has killed a Brāhmana'; ब्रूषदा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रदा who has killed Vritra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sutra 76 *ante*, the affix क्तिप् was ordained to come after all verbs and therefore would have come after the verb वृत् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a *niyam. i. e.* the verb वृत् takes the affix क्तिप् only when it is in composition with the words वृक्ष &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When वृत् has, as upapada, the words वृक्ष &c., and not any other word; as पुत्रं वृत्तवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words वृक्ष &c are upapadas of any other verb than वृत्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be वृत्; thus वृक्षाधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्तिप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of वृत् preceded by वृक्ष &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as वृक्षात् वृत्ति or वृत्तिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brahmana'. This sutra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sutra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं कन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, कन्दसि, (हनः, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्दसि विषये उपपदांतरेपि हन्तेर्बहुलं क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्तिप् diversely comes after the verb वृत् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्तिप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As नातृदा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृदा patricide.

Diversely we find also नातृचातः and पितृचातः ।

सुकर्मपापमन्त्रपुरयेषु कृजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुरयेषु, कृजः, (क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेर्जातोः क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:—सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मन्त्र 'hymn' and उपर 'virtue.'

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except **हु**, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As **हुकृत** (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; **कर्मकृत** 'who has done all works', **पापकृत** 'who has committed sins', **मन्त्रकृत** 'who has made a mantra'; **पुण्यकृत** 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or *niyama*. Three-fold restriction is intended here: namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than there are upapadas. As, **शास्त्रकृत** 'who has made Scriptures'; **भाष्यकृत** 'who has made a commentary'. The **र** is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे झुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, झुजः, (कर्मणि, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मरूपपदे झुजोतेर्धातोः क्तिप्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

90. the affix **क्तिप्** comes after the verb **हु** 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word **सोम**, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, **सोमझुज** 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual **सोमझुजौ**; 1st. plural **सोमझुजः** ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a *niyama* or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i. e. as regard the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मरूपपदे झुजोतेर्धातोः क्तिप्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

91. the affix **क्तिप्** comes after the verb **चि** 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word **अग्नि**, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, **अग्निचित** 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual **अग्निचितौ**; 1st. plural **अग्निचितः** ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मण्यग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्यायाम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्यग्न्याख्यायाम् कर्मण्येव कारके क्तिप्प्रत्यये भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix **क्तिप्** comes after the verb **चि** 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words **चेः** and **कर्मणि** are understood in this sūtra. The name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As *रवेनचित्* 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; *कङ्कचित्* 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word *आख्या* indicates that these words are *rudhi* words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called *रवेनचित्*, and so on.

कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मरूपपदे विपूर्वात् क्रीणातेर्षातोऽरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix *इनि* comes after the compound verb *विक्रि* 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word *कर्मणि* in the *sūtra*, though its *anuvritti* might have been drawn from the last apaurism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As *सोमविक्रयिन्* 'the seller of soma plant'; *रसविक्रयिन्* 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in *पाण्यविक्रायः* 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः कृनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, कृनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्षातोः कर्मरूपपदे कृनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix *कृनिप्* comes after the verb *दृश्* 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As *नेरुदृश्यं*, 1st. sing. *नेरुदृश्या* 'who has seen the meru'. *परलोकोदृश्या* 'who has seen the hereafter'.

Though the affix *कृनिप्* was valid by *sūtra* III. 2. 75. its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिकृजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-कृजः, कर्मणि, कृनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मरूपपदे युध्यतेः कर्तोत्तरश्च कृनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix *कृनिप्* comes after the verbs *युज्* 'to fight' and *कृ* 'to make' with a past signification when the word *राजन्* 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb *युज्*, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? it is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the *चित्* affix latent. As *राजयुज्यं*, 1st. sing. *राजयुज्या* (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; *राजकृत्वन्*, 1st. sing. *राजकृत्वा* (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, कृजः, कृनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यदे सोपपदे युधिकृजोर्द्धादोः कृनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix कृनिप् comes after the verbs युर् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वं 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्यं 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तम्यां जनेर्हः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्हःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ड comes after the verb जर् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case'.

As उपपदे जातः=उपपदजः । जर्+ड=ज्+ज्. (VI. 4. 143) =ज'born of the first conception'; गन्धुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजाती ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजाती, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्हःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ड comes after the verb जर्, 'with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through plain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe इल्लिनी जातः 'born of elephant'; अश्वारजातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे सोपपदे जनेर्हः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ड comes after the verb जर् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अयेना नामनी प्रजाः ।

अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाजनेः कर्मण्युपपदे डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ड comes after the verb जर् with a past

signification, when the root takes the preposition **अनु** and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुनपुत्रा 'a girl born after the male child, i. e., a girl having an elder brother'; स्तनपुत्रः 'a boy born after the female child, i. e., a boy having an elder sister.

अन्येऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते,

(जने, इः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेऽः प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

100. The affix **इ** is seen to come after the verb **जन्** with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = अजः 'unborn'; द्विजः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As द्वाष्टवजो वर्णः; वज्रिपञ्च पुष्टः ।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix **इ** comes after the compound verb **जन्**. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as जनिजाः or परिजाः 'born or produced all round i. e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb **जन्** this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after i. e. younger brother'.

The force of the word **अपि** 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आसा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवत् तिष्ठेत्युक्तं च निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्ययो भूते सति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called **निष्ठा** comes after a verbal root employed with the sense of past time.

The affix **कृ** and **कृतवत्** are **निष्ठा** (I. 1. 26). As कृ + कृ = कृतवत् 'made'; कृ + कृतवत् = कृतवत्, 1st. sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तवत् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

Part:—The Nishthā affixes come when *ādi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *ādi-karma* see sūtra III. 4. 7., and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कर्तृ देवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कर्तृ देवदत्तः ।

सुयजोड्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ड्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुयोतेर्यजतेरच् ड्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ड्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice,' with a past signification.

As सु + ड्वनिप् = सुव + वच् (VI. 1. 71) = सुवच् 1st. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज् + वच्, 1st. sing. यज्त्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The व् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरतन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अतन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरतन् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अतन् comes after the verb जी 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जी + अतन् = जर् + अत् (VII. 3. 84) = जर्त्, 1st. sing. जर्त्, 1st. dl. जर्न्तो, 1st. pl. जर्न्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वाचस्प (III. 1. 94), the Nishthā affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्षः and जीर्षवाद् । वृ + क्त = जिर् + त् (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = जिर् + त् (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्ष (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Ohhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यमुभयतो दृष्ट्वे 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं आवापृथिवीं आरुतान् 'stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words दृष्ट्वे and आरुतान् have the force of nishthā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Ohhandas the *lun*, *la'n* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (पातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानच्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः कानच्, वा, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानच्वादेवो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Ohhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच् ।

As अग्निं पिबयान् 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुपुष्यन् 'he pressed the soma juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvritti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कान् replaces not only the special लिट् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कान् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. कुरुवाच (Rig. Ved. 1. 3. 6).

कुरुश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुः, च, (हन्दि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्दि लिटः कुरुरादेभ्यो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix कुरु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As कश्चिच्च 1st. sing. कश्चिच्च 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); चश्चिच्च 1st. sing. चश्चिच्च 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अहं हर्षमुनयस ददयं.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of कुरु only runs.

भाषायां सद्वचश्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद्वच-
द्वयः, (लिटः कुरुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उव वचश्च इत्येतेभ्यः परत्वे लिटो भाषायां विद्यते वा कुरुरादेभ्यो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix कुरु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs वच, वच् and वृ with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As उपसेदिवाच कौत्सः पाणिनिश्च 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासीदत् 'he served'; उपासीदत् and उपससाद्.

So also अनुसिवाच कौत्सः पाणिनिश्च. In the alternative we have अनुववासीदत्, अनुववसाद् and अनुवाच.

So also उपमुञ्चवाच कौत्सः पाणिनिश्च. In the alternative we have उपासीसीदत्, उपासीसीदत् and उपमुञ्चात्.

The affix कुरु is employed with the force of कुरु and कुरु also.

उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचानश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-
अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवाच् अनाश्ववाच् अनूचाव इत्येते बभूवुः निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवाच् अनाश्ववाच् अनूचाव are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved :—To the verb **इ** 'to go' with the preposition **उप**, the affix **उवृ** is added : as **उप+इ+उवृ**. The root is reduplicated : as **उप+ई+इ+उवृ**. The reduplicate is here long **ई** by VII. 4. 69. This long **ई** does not coalesce with the short **इ** by the rules of sandhi ; for then the rule by which this **ई** was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment **इद्** contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As **उप+ई+इ+इद्+उवृ**. Then the root **इ** is replaced by **उ** by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As **उप+ई+इ+इद्+उवृ=उपेयिवृ** 1st. sing. **उपेयिवान्**. The augment **इद्** is however dropped in those cases (५) where **उवृ** is changed into **उवृ** ; because the insertion of **इद्** was itself an exceptional case of limited scope :—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it ; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that **इद्** was employed before **उवृ**. Therefore in accusative plural we have **उपेयिषुः** ; instrumental sing **उपेयिषा** &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga **उप** ; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also ; thus **उपेयिवान्**, and **ईयिवान्** as well.

By the anuvritti of the word **वा** read in this aphorism, we have **उवृ** &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist **उवागान्**, Imperfect **उवेत्**, Perfect **उपेयात्** :

The word **अनारवान्** is thus formed :—To the verb **अनृ** 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle **अन** ; apply the affix **कृ** and do not insert the augment **इद्** ; so, we have **अन+अनृ+कृ=अनारवृ**, 1st. sing. **अनारवान्**. In the alternative we have Aorist **नानीत्**, Imperfect **नारनात्** and Perfect **नान्**.

The word **अनृवाचः** is thus derived :—The affix **आनृ** is added in expressing the agent to the verb **उवृ** preceded by **अनृ**. In the alternative we have Aorist **अनृवोचत्**, Imperfect **अनृवोचत्**, Perfect **अनृवाचः**.

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतर्हेर्लुङ् रात्रिष्वेवागरवृत्तौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix **लुङ्** comes after a verb in the sense of past time,

The **लुङ्** forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal termination. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

'The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect ; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past times the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did'; अकार्षीत् 'he took'.

Vart:—The affix लुङ् comes after the verb वच् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the लुङ् and not in लङ्. As अनुजावातस्व 'I dwelt there'; and not अनुजावस्व.

Vart:—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अनुजावस्व.

अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्द्वयनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अकरोत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अहं एव वा अनुज्ज्महि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लुङ्.

Vart:—The affix लङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अवसत् यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; अवसत् यवनः माध्यमिकाम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् आदित्यः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कट देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe वसान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लङ् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लङ्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भुतान्मसतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word (implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लृट्. As अभिज्ञानादि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वस्त्यामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द संहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यद्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वच् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिज्ञानादि देवदत्त यद् कश्मीरेष्ववसाव 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependant idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्; अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसंहिते केवले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-
रचेत्प्रयोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यद् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्ष means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिज्ञानादि देवदत्त कश्मीराद् गमिष्यामः, वनं वक्तुम्

देवदत्तः or कश्मिजानादि देवदत्तः कश्मीराद् गच्छान्, तत्र वक्तुं पियान्, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle च् is or is not used. As कश्मिजानादि देवदत्तः यद् कश्मीराद् गच्छान् (or यद् कश्मीराद् गच्छान्,) च् तत्रोदनं जीवयामहे (or यद् तत्रोदनमुत्पन्नमिह) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाहुतोर्लिट्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापमह्ये च लिट्प्रत्ययः ॥

115. 'The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; लब्धवान् 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, i. e. when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As दुष्टोऽहं किल विलसाम् 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :-The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गं गगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; दक्षिणायनं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं दक्षिणायनं प्रविशाम्.

ह-शश्वतोर्लिट् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लट्, च (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते हशश्वतोर्लिट्प्रत्यये भवति चकारालिट् च ॥

116. And the affixe चक् comes after a verb when the particles च and चक्च are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect), may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति च चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. अरवदकरोत् or अरवचचकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले;
(भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लट्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छयमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affixes चक् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or अगच्छ देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)'? अयजद् देवदत्तः or अयज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed'?

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, अगच्छ देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe-नवन्तं पृच्छामि, जयान कंसं किल बाहुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् स्मे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, स्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira sacrificed'; so also नलेन स्म पुराधीयते । उर्ध्वा स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, स्मे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानदातनेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोः स्मउपपदे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father'; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननी पृष्टप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननी, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने,
(भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुग्रह उपपदे प्रश्नपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvritti of the words 'analytana' and 'paroksha' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लृट् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त ?—ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ? O, yes, I did make it'. अथोचस्तत्र किंचित् देवदत्त,—ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything ? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation' ? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् नाशयकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्शेर्विभाष. ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ट-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुग्रहे उपपदे चोपपदे पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षं च;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षं च 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ?—No I did not;—what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अस्मे,
(भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराग्रह उपपदे स्मग्रहवर्जिते भूतानदातनेऽर्थे विभाषा लट् प्रत्ययो भवति लट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लृट् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used.

The anuvritti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvritti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As *ब्रह्मन्तीह पुरा ब्राह्मः* 'the pupils lives here formerly.' So also, Aorist, *अवात्सुः पुरा ब्राह्मः* Imperfect, *अवत्सिह पुरा ब्राह्मः* Perfect, *उद्विह पुरा ब्राह्मः* ।

Why do we say 'when the word *एत* is not used'? Observe *यजति एत पुरा युधिष्ठिरः* *Yudhishtira* did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *anle* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लट् ॥ वर्तमानेऽपरिचयान्तरं वर्तमानास्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लट् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

123. The affix *लट्* comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word *वर्तमान* means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As *पचति* 'he is cooking'; *पठति* 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As *विहन्ति पर्वताः* 'the mountains stand'; *स्रवन्ति नद्यः* 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शतृशानच्चावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,

शतृ-शानच्ची, अवप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः ॥ शतृशानच्चावित्येतावादेवी भवतः अवप्रथमास्तेन चेतस्य समानाधिकरणस्य भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ नाहुयाकोये ॥

124. The affixes *शतृ* and *शानच्* are substitutes of *लट्*, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As *पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य* 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; *पचता कृतम्* 'or पचमानेन कृतम्' 'done by one who is cooking' *पच् + शानच् = पच् + शतृ + शानच्* (III. 4. 113, III. I. 68) = *पच् + श + शतृ + शानच्* (VI. 2. 82) = *पचमान* । So also *पच् + शतृ + शतृ = पच् + श + शतृ = पचत्* ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix? Observe *देवदत्तः पचति* 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term *लट्* might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As *पच् ब्राह्मणः* 'who is a Brāhmana' = *अस्ति ब्राह्मणः*; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः; बुधत् and बुधेति; and अजीवानः and अजीते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle वाच् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As वा वचद् and वा वचमानः 'may he not cook'; वा जीवद् यः परावचादुःखदग्धोऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. May he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvritti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyaavasthita-vibhaśha*) and not of 'universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृ-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानचौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

125. The affixes वद् and शानच् are substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case; as हे वचद् or हे वचमान 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणेहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः शतृ-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ कार्ये वर्तमानाद्वातोः परस्य लटः शतृशानप्राधादेवो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणे हेत्वोः क्रियायाः पुनः लपसंज्ञानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणे च ॥

126. The affixes वद् and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षणे means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of *lakshana*:—as, यवानाः सुपुञ्जते यवनः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. तिष्ठन्तोऽनुवाच वि गच्छाः । Of *hetu*:—as इति परस्य बुध्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution'; अजीवानो वचति 'for the sake of study he dwells here.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause? Observe वचति 'he cooks'; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action'? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As यः कम्पते सोऽस्वत्थाः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha'; यदुत्प्लवते तत्सद्यु 'whatever floats is light'; यन्निचिदति तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Varh:—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीयान् जायते स देवदत्तः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Varh:—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as शयान् वर्धते ह्रस्वः 'the *Dūrvā* grass grow in a recumbent position'; शशीन् वर्धते बिम्बः 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound कृष्णदेवोः of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शतृ-शानच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शतृशानचौ सत्त्वयो भवति ॥

127. These two शतृ and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus ब्राह्मण्यं कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वाणः, करिष्यमाणः.

The word सत्, occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्ग्यजोः शानच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्गो यजेरच् धातोः शानच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतृशानचौ भवतः ॥

128. The affix शानच् comes after the verbs शृ 'to purify,' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As यजमानः 'purifier (fire or air)'; यजमानः 'sacrificer.'

It might be asked 'is the शानच् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of सत्, as शतृ and शानच्? Why we ask this questions is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of सत्, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of सत्, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of सत्, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं यजमानः 'drinking Soma'; and नन्दनायनानः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानच् &c. must be the substitutes of सत्. The term शृ in sūtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix शृ taught in this Chapter sūtra 135; but it is a *pratyāhāra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyāhāra* formed by taking the शृ of शतृ in sūtra 124; and च् of च् in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from शतृ in 124 down to च् in 135. Thus though शानच्, शानच् &c. are not substitutes of सत्, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term शृ.

Varh:—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष् takes the affix शतृ. As चोरस्व or चोरं द्विषन् 'hating the thief.'

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-
वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यादिषु चातोश्चानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं भुञ्जानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विधावः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निघ्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कतीह युवदयमानाः, भुञ्जयमानाः, कवचं पर्यस्वमानाः, शिखरं वहमानाः and पचमानाः ।

इङ्धार्योः शत्रुकृच्छिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शतृ,
अकृच्छिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो चारेरच वात्योः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति अकृच्छिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शतृ comes after the verb इङ् 'to go' and चारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकृच्छि means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अशोयत् चारावचद् 'the facile reading of the Purāna'; चारयन्मुप-निषदद् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root चारि is causative of चृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रे चारयति 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रे च चारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विवोऽग्नित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अग्नित्रे, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नित्रे कर्त्तरि द्विवोर्वातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शतृ comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अग्नित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषद् 'enemy', द्विषन्ती 'two enemies'. द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो यज्ञसंयोजे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः, यज्ञ-संयोजे, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयोजेऽग्निपत्रे वर्तमानात्सुजोत्तेर्वातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शतृ comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word यज्ञसंयोग is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As जु+जु+यत् (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113)=जुजु+यत् (I 2. 4)=जुज्वत् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing जुज्वन्, pl. जुज्वन्तः 'the sacrifices'; as in सर्वे जुज्वन्तः 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice.'

The word संयोग indicates that the principal sacrificer, i. e. the यज्ञमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as राजकाः 'the sacrificing priests.'

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have जुनोति जुरात् 'he distils liquor'.

अहं: प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहं: प्रशंसायाम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहंतेर्होतिः प्रशंसायां यत्प्रत्ययेऽभवति ॥

133. The affix यत् comes after the verb अहं in expressing praise.

As अहंनिह भवान्विदमात् 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अहंनिह भवान्पुत्रात् 'thou art worthy of honor in this place.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अहंति चोरो वधश्च 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्लेशच्छीलतद्वर्मेतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्लेशः, तच्छील-तद्वर्मेतत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ सत्स्नाद् क्लेशसंबन्धादयानिव कर्तुं ननु क्लिप्त्यानस्त्वच्छीलारिषु कर्तुं तु ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as क्लिप् in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes क्लिप् also. The term तच्छील means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तद्वर्मे means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty.' The term तत्साधुकारि means 'who does the action [expressed by the verb in an excellent way.' Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तृन् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृन्, (तच्छील-तद्वर्मेतत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वेषां तृन्प्रत्ययेऽभवति तच्छीलारिषु कर्तुं तु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तुन्विषादृतिषु साधुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नयतेऽपुक् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्विषेहेतवायानकारप्रयोगाया अनिट्त्वञ्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चदेव निमुक्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कण्वसि तुञ्च ॥

135. The affix *हृ* comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c.'

The *हृ* of *हृ* is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197). As *कृ + हृ = कर्तृ*, 1st sing. *कर्ता*. This affix denotes 'habit' in the following; as, *कर्ता कटात्* 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, *ब्रह्मविहारः शविष्ठावना भवन्ति यधून्दात्* 'the family of *Śrāvishtāyana* shave the heads of their widows'; *अन्नभय-हर्तार आह्वरका भवन्ति जाते चित्ते* 'the *Ahvarakas* steal away food as soon as *Śrāddha* is accomplished'; *उन्नेतारस्तौलवायना भवन्ति पुत्रे जाते* 'the *Taulvalāyanas* become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, *कर्ता कटत्* 'skilful maker of mats' *गन्ताऽऽखेटत्* 'skilful hunter.'

Vart:—The simple verbs, without *upasargas*, take the affix *हृ*, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As *हु + हृ = होतृ*, 1st. sing. *होता* 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also *पोतृ* 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the *upasargas*'? Observe *उद्गातृ* 'the *Udgātri* priest'; *प्रतिहर्तृ* 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is *हृ*. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; i. e. *हृ* places *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197), while *हृ* places it on the last (VI. 1. 163).

Vart:—The augment *नुक्* is added when *नी* takes the affix *हृ*; as *नी + नुक् + हृ = नेष्टृ*, 1st. sing. *नेष्टा* 'the *Neshtri* priest'.

Vart:—When signifying deity, the verb *त्विष्* takes *हृ*; the letter *श* is the substitute for the *हृ* of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate *हृ* augment; as, *त्विष् + हृ = त्वष्टृ*, 1st. sing. *त्वष्टा* 'Tvashtri.'

Vart:—The root *वद* takes *हृ*, when the word to be formed means an officer; as *वदृ* 'an attendant, a door-keeper.'

Vart:—In the *Veda*, the root *वद* takes *हृ*, as *वदृ*. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृन् निराकृन् प्रजनोत्पचीत्पतोन्मदरुच्यपत्रपवृत्तुवधुसहचरः
इच्छुब् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृन्-निराकृन्-प्रजन-उत्पच-उत्पत्त-उन्मद-
रुचि-अपत्रप-वृत्तु-वधु-सह-चरः, इच्छुब्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृजदिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इच्छुब् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृजोपपदनार्थाद्भुवः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेच्छुब् प्रत्ययः ॥

136. The affix *इच्छुब्* comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजृ 'to be born', उत्पच 'to be ripe', उत्पव 'to fly', उन्मद 'to be mad', वधृ 'to shine', अपत्रप 'to be ashamed', हर 'to move', हृ 'to grow' वहृ 'to bear' and चर 'to walk'.

As अलङ्करीष्युः 'decorating', निराकरीष्युः 'repudiating', प्रजनयिष्युः 'procreative', उत्पत्तिष्युः 'apt to ripen', उत्पत्तिष्युः 'flying', मन्दिष्युः 'mad', रोषिष्युः 'bright', अप्रमत्तिष्युः 'bashful', वर्त्तिष्युः 'revolving', वर्द्धिष्युः 'growing', चरिष्युः 'patient', चरिष्युः 'moveable'.

Vart :—The affix इष्णुच् debars by anticipation the affix डृच् of III. 2 151, after the root अलङ्कृ, though it has the sense of decorating'.

येऽलङ्करीष्युः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ येः, अङ्करीष्युः, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्यन्ताद्वातोऽलङ्करीष्युः विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb that ends in the causative चि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As हवन् चारयिष्यन्तः 'who hold the stones'; वीर्यः चारयिष्यन्तः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (अङ्करीष्युः, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्वातोऽलङ्करीष्युः विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c. comes in the Chhandas, after the verb च 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्युः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhaga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras ; as आजिष्णुना लोहितवन्दनेन ।

ग्लानिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्लानि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लानि स्था इत्येतेभ्यो चातुर्ग्यस्यकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुः प्रत्यये भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इयेरङ्करीष्युः पञ्चम्याम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c. viz—ग्लानि 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after च 'to be'.

As, ग्लान्युः 'languid'; जिष्युः 'victorious'; स्थास्युः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable'; भूष्युः 'being'.

The anuvriti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really च and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ[of ह्य], which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been क्तिन् (VI 4. 66).

In the sūtra I 1. 5. (कृत्ति च) the letter च is also included; for च coming before क, is changed by the rules of *santhi* into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11. (चतुर्लङ्गि), the augment इद् does not come after the verb लु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra लङ्, when an affix having an indicative क follows. Here also क includes च; and therefore in लुङ् we have no intermediate augment इद्.

Var.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb दंश् 'to bite'; as दंश्चकः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

त्रसिगृधिधृतिक्षिपेः क्तुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रसि-गृधि-धृति-क्षिपेः,
क्तुः, (तच्छोलादिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसादिभ्यो वातुभ्यस्तच्छोलादिषु क्तुः प्रत्ययो नवति ॥

140. The affix क्तु comes after the verbs त्रस् 'to tremble' दृग् 'to be greedy', धृग् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

As, त्रस्तुः 'trembling' दृग्दुः 'greedy'; धृग्दुः 'bold'; and क्षिप्तुः 'throwing'.

शनित्यष्टाभ्यो विनुक् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,

विनुक्, (तच्छोलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शनादिभ्यो वातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छोलादिषु विनुक् प्रत्ययो नवति ॥

141. The affix विनुक् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शन् 'to be calm,' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शन् and end with न्द in the list of verbs. Of the affix विनुक् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile; the व is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45; and letter न् causes vridhhi (VII. 2. 116): which in the case of roots ending in न् is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vridhhi being नद्.

As शनिन् 1st. sing. शनी 'calm'; likewise शना 'measuring'; दनी 'taming'; शनी 'laborious'; शनी 'whirling', 'moving round'; कृनी 'fatiguing'; चनी 'forbearing'; प्रनादी 'heedless' and उन्नादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the ver' उन्नाद takes the affix इन्नुक्, it also takes the affix विनुक् by the rule of वाडस्य (III 1. 94).

All these verbs belong to the *divādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes; as शस्तिवा..

संप्रचानुरुधाङ्गमाङ्यसपरिसृंसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरट
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यग्ररजभजातिचरापचरा-
मुषाम्पाहनश्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्र-अनुरुध-आङ्यस-आङ्यस-परिसृ-
संज-परिदेवि-संज्वर-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रह-
दुह-युज-आक्रीड-विविच-त्य-ग्र-रज-भज-अतिचर-अपचर-आमुष-अम्पाहनः,
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुष्) ॥

हृत्ति ॥ संप्रचादिभ्यो घातुभ्यो घिनुष्प्रत्यये। भवति ॥

142. The affix घिनुष् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz:—संप्रच्, अनुवच्, आयच्, आयच्, परिच्, संवृज्, परिदेव्, संज्वर, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवद्, परिदह्, परिमुह्, दुष, द्विष, द्रुह, दह, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्वज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष and अम्पाहन्.

The root संप्रच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhâdi class, and not as belonging to Adâdi, because the vikarâṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिदेव् belongs to Bhvâdi class, the simple verb being देव् 'to sport'. The verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudâdi and Divâdi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divâdi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhâdi; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संप्रच् + घिनुष् = संवर्क + हर् (VII. 2. 52)—संवर्किन् 1st. sing. संवर्की 'mixture'; similarly, अनुरोचो 'compliant'; आवाची 'one who restrains'; आवाची 'one who exerts'; परिवाही 'that which flows round'; संवर्गी 'united'; परिदेवी 'lamenting'; संज्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिदेवी 'moving about'; परिराही 'crying aloud'; परिवाही 'reviling'; परिदाही 'burning'; परिमेही 'beguiling'; देवी 'guilty'; द्वेही 'hating'; द्वेही 'quarrelling'; दोगी 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्वगी 'renouncing'; रगी 'yearning after', भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आचोची 'a thief'; अम्पाचारी 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory च of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वौ कपलसकतयस्त्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, कप-लस-कतय-
स्त्रम्भः (घिनुष्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

हृत्ति ॥ कप लस कतय स्त्रम्भ एतेभ्यो घातुभ्यो विशङ्खउपपदे घिनुष्प्रत्यये। भवति ॥

143 The affix घिनुष् comes after the verbs कप् 'to injure', लप् 'to embrace and sport', कतय 'to praise' and स्त्रम्भ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि।

As विकारी 'injuring'; विवासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकरवी 'vaunting'; and विश्वनी 'confiding'.

अपे च लयः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लयः, (चिनुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लय कान्तौ, अस्वादात्तोर पठपपदे चकारादौ च चिनुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुच् comes after the verb लय 'to wish' when compounded with the prepositions अपे and चि.

As लयवासी 'thirst'; विवासी. The term चि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपसृद्रनयवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-सृ-द्रु-नय वद-वसः, (चिनुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपदे लपादिभ्यो चिनुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुच् comes after the verbs लप्, वृ, द्रु, नय, वद and वय when compounded with the preposition प्रि.

As प्रवासी 'prattling'; प्रवासी 'extending around'; प्रवासी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रवासी 'tormenting'; प्रवासी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वच् here is the Bhvādi वच् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikarana is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो
वुज् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिं-क्लि-श-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-
वादिव्याभाष-सूयः, वुज्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वुज्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुज् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' :—

निन्द, हिन्स्, क्लिस्, खाद्, विनास्, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवादिव, व्याभाष् and सूयः ।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with सूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द+वुज्=निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसक् 'injuring'; क्लेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षिपकः 'surrounding'; परिरटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and सूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix वयुज् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुज्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāṣhā :—

'The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177'. Therefore the affixes वृच् &c. are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c.'.

देविकुशोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-कुशोः, च, उपसर्गे;

(युञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देववतेः कुशोपसर्गे उपपदे युञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix युञ् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and कुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'. परिदेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe देवविता and क्रोहा formed by वृत् (III. 2 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,

अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छास्त्रादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यर्थादकर्मकेभ्यो योनुस्त्वच्छास्त्रादिषु कर्तुं युच्प्रत्ययो भवति.

148. The affix युच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चल् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (V. I. 1. 1.); चोचनः 'creeping'; चवचनः 'sounding'; रवचः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe चरिता विद्वाच्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हुलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हुला-

देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तलो वाहुः हुलादिः कर्मकरवतश्च युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudāttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicative.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudāttet'? Observe चरिता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe चरिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes वृच्.

Why have we used the term चादि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe पुनुचनः 'censuring'; नीचाङ्कनः 'an investigator'. For without the word चादि, the rule would have stood thus—अनुदात्तेतश्च वच्: which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after वच् we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after पुनुच् which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as चरिता चरन्.

सूददीपदीक्षश्च ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दाक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेष्वप्यय युच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike'. दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anudattat*, and by sūtra III. 3. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take वृत्. As, वृद्धि 1st. sing वृद्धिना 'one who strikes'; दीप्ति 'one who shines'; दीक्षि 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this *apavāda* rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the *Paribhāṣā* given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned *Paribhāṣā* is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कञ्जा युवतिः and कनका युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कञ्. So also कम्पा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms वृद्धि and वृद्धिश्च? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (*yogavibhāga*), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words वृद्धिश्च &c. belong to the *नृदादि* class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix नृच् or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix नृच्.

लघपतपदस्याभूवृषहनकनगनगशृभ्य उकञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लघ-पत-पद-स्या-भू-वृष-हन-कन-गन-शृभ्यः, उकञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लघादिभ्यो चातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तुं यु उकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उकञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लघ्, पत, पृष्ठ, स्था, अ. वृष्, वृत्, कच, गव and शृः।

As लघाद्युक्तं वृषकसंगतं, प्रपातुका गवा भवति, उपपातुक्तं वृत्तं, उपस्थापुका स्था पथो भवति, प्रपातुकननं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्वण्याः, आपातुक्तं आपालिकस्य वृक्षश्च, कातुक्तं वनं क्षिप्तो भवति, आगातुक्तं गाराचरी एव आतुः, किंवाचकं तीक्ष्णनाडुः। The य is added after स्था in उपस्थापुक् by VII. 3. 33. The वृ is changed into वृत् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

अल्पभिक्षकुहलुगटवृडः पाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्प-भिक्ष-कुह-लुगट-वृडः, पाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पादिभ्यो चातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तुं यु पाकन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix पाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—अल्प, लिप्, कुह, लुगट and वृः।

The **व** is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix **लुच्** i.e. long **ई** (IV, 1. 41). As **ब्रह्माकः** 'talkative'; **निहाकः** 'a beggar'; **कुहाकः** 'who or what cuts'; **चुरहाकः** 'a thief or robber'; **बराकः** 'low, miserable'. In the feminine **ब्रह्माकी** &c.

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात्मनस्तेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रत्यये भवति ॥

156. The affix **इनि** comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc.' after the verb **प्रज्** 'to hasten forward'.

As **प्रजविन्** 1st. sing. **प्रजवी** 'an express, courier', 1st. dual **प्रजविनो** &c.

जिहृक्षिविश्रीएवमाव्यथाभ्यनपरिभूप्रभूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-हृ-क्षि-विश्रि-इष्-वन-अठयथ-अभ्यन-परिभू-प्रभूभ्यः, च, (इनिः, तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो चातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्यये भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix **इनि** comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs **जि** 'to conquer', **हृ** 'to respect', **क्षि** 'to waste, to dwell, to go', **विश्रि** 'to shelter', **इ** 'to go', **वृ** 'to vomit', **अभ्यन** 'not to give pain', **अभ्यन** 'to injure', **परिभू** 'to humiliate' and **प्रभू** 'to beget'.

As **जविन्** 1st. sing. **जवी** 'conquering'; similarly, **हवी** 'respecting'; **क्षवी** 'wasting'; **विश्रवी** 'wasting'; **अठयवी** 'exceeding'; **वनी** 'vomiting'; **अवनवी** 'free from pain'; **अभ्यनी** 'not injuring'; **परिभवी** 'humiliating' and **प्रभवी** 'procreating'.

स्पृहियहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राअद्राभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

स्पृहि-यहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-अद्राभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहियहिपतिदयिनिद्राअद्रा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्यये भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि ङीडे ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix **आलुच्** comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:—**स्पृह** 'to desire', **यह** 'to seize', **पत** 'to go', **दय** 'to give, to go, to protect', **निद्रा** 'to sleep', **तन्द्रा** 'to be tired' and **अद्रा** 'to venerate'.

The word **निद्रा** is formed by adding the preposition **नि** to the verb **द्रा** 'to go crookedly'; so also **तन्द्रा** is formed by adding **तद्** to **द्रा**, and then irregularly changing the **द्** into **त्**. The term **अद्रा** is formed by adding **अद्** to the verb **द्रा** 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to **Churādi** class and take **णिच्**.

As, **स्पृह्यालुः** 'disposed to be desirous of'; **यह्यालुः** 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; **पतयालुः** 'tending or prone to fall'; **दयालुः** 'compassionate'; **निद्रालुः** 'disposed to sleep'; **तन्द्रालुः** 'slothful'; **अद्रालुः** 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding **आलुच्**.

Vart.—The affix आसुच् comes also after the root ग्रीह् 'to lie down'; as आसुहः 'disposed to lie down.'

दाचेट्सिश्दसदो कः॥ १५९॥ पदानि॥ दा-चेट्-सि-शद-सदः, कः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा चेट् वि शद सद इत्येतेभ्यो वःप्रत्यये भवति ॥

159. The affix च comes after the verbs दा 'to give', चेट् 'to suck', वि to bind', शद 'to fall' and सद 'to sit'.

As दासः 'a munificent man'; चासर्वस्वो नातरच् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II 3. 69, the च being taken as equivalent to च. As सचः 'binding'; शदुः 'falling' and सदुः 'resting'.

सृष्यसदः क्मरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि॥ सृ-ष्यि-अदः, क्मरच्, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृ ष्यि अद इत्येतेभ्यो घातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्मरच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्मरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' comes after the verbs सृ 'to flow', ष्यि 'to eat' and अद 'to eat'.

As वृमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घ्मरः 'gluttonous', अद्वरः 'voracious'.

भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज-भास-मिदः, घुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज भास मिद इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज 'to break भास् 'to shine', and मिद 'to be fat.'

As संज् + घुरच् = संज् + उर (VII. 3. 52) = संजुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory च. So also जेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिमिदिद्धिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-मिदि-द्धिदेः, कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदादिभ्यो घातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपपत्तेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच् वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs विद् 'to know' मिद् 'to divide' and द्धिद् 'to pierce.'

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; मिदुरं गृध्रश्च 'a splitting or fragile wood'; द्धिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs विद् and द्धिद्.

Varb: -The affix कृप् comes after the verb वध् 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ।

इङ्गन्शजिसर्तिभ्यः कृप्, ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-नश्-जि-
सर्तिभ्यः, कृप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङ् नश् जि इत्येतेभ्यो आनुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कृप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix कृप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs व 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and वृ 'to flow'.

The प् is indicative in order to introduce the augment इङ् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 7. 1). Thus व + कृप् = व + त् + वर = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वरः, fem. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वरः, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious'; वृत्वरः, fem. वृत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वल् pratyahāra, and ought to have taken the intermediate इट् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति भिदात्यते, गमेत्नुनादिकलोपः कृप्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The गत्वर is formed by eliding the व् of गप् and adding the affix कृप्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी locomotive, transient'.

जागुरुकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागर्त्तकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागुरुकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यङः(त-
च्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङ्प्रदानानूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs यज्, जप् and दध् when they end in the affix य्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यागयुक्तः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices', जपयुक्तः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly', दन्तयुक्तः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमिकम्पित्स्त्रयजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-कम्पि-
स्त्रि-अजस-कम हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्यये। भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कम् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', नञ् 'not to cease', कम् 'to desire', हिन्व 'to injure', and दीप् 'to shine'.

Thus, नम्रं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्पा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अन्नस्य जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कञ्जा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिंस्रः 'the injuring Rakshas'; दीप्तिं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अवलम्ब is an adverb, and is derived from the root लब् 'to get free', with the negative particle अव, and the affix र; as अव + लब् + र = अवलम्ब ।

सनायसमिक्ष उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-मिक्षः, उः,

(तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसिर्निवेष्ट तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्यये। भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix लृच्, and after the verbs आशंस 'to wish' and निष् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term लृच् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix लृच्, and not the verb लृच्, because the verb लृच् is never seen with this affix.

As, निष्कीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; निष्कीर्षुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; निष्कुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस with the upasarga आ is the verb अशि 'to desire' and not the verb शंसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छील) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदुर्भागस इषेरच्छत्वमुकारश्च प्रत्यये। निष्ठात्यये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment उर and then the affix उ; as, विद् + उर + उ = विन्दुः (I. 1. 47) = वेदनीशीलाः 'intelligent', so of इष् 'to wish' the उ is replaced by इ and we have इच्छुः = इषणीशीलाः 'desirous'.

व्याचक्षन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यात्, क्षन्दसि, (तच्छील) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयप्रत्ययान्ताद्वातोरेक्षन्दसि त्रिषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्यये। भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix लृच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term लृच् includes the three affixes लृच्, लृच्, and लृच् (see sutras III. 1. 8, 11, 13, &c.). As निष्कुः, संस्वेदयुः, जुगन्तुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit *तृ* will be employed. As निजीविता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long *ई* replaces the final *अ*, when *कृ* follows; as पुत्र+कृ=पुत्री+कृ=पुत्रीकृ. Why then in the case of नित्रयः there is not the substitution of long *ई* for the *अ* of नित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33. is set aside by VII. 4. 35. which declares that in the Chhandas the long *ई* is not substituted for the *अ*.

आहूतगमहनजनः किकिनी लिट् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहूत-
गमहन-जनः, कि-किनी, लिट्, कृ, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य आहूतगमहनजन इति कृते लिट् किकिनी प्रत्ययो भवतः, लिट् कृ च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किकिनीपुत्रवर्गकृदि पदादिभ्यो दर्शनात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां भाज् कृञ् कृञ्निगमिननिभ्यः किकिनी पक्षयो ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सङ्घट्टितलिपिभ्यो यङ्गन्तेभ्यः किकिनी पक्षयो ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes *कि* and *किन्* in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c, come after the verbs that end in long *आ*, or short or long *अ*, and after the verbs *नृ* 'to go', *वृ* 'to kill', and *कृ* 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like *लिट्* causing reduplication of the root.

The *हृ* after *आ* is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been *हृ*, then by the rule of *तपर* (I. 1. 70) short *अ* would only be included and not long *अ*. But the present rule is applicable to long *अ* as well.

Thus *पृ+कि=पृपि*: 'drinking'; as *पृपि*: सोम 'drinking the soma-juice'; *दृदिर्ना*: 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). *मित्राववृ* तदुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). *हृरे अवाजगुरि*: (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). *नृ+किन्+जनि*: 'being in constant motion, wind'; *जनिवृवा* (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); *हृ+किन्=हृजि*: 'killing, a weapon offensive'; *कृ+किन्*=(Rig. Ved. IX. 6. 12); *कृ+किन्=कृजि*: as *कृजिनीकृ* (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter *क्* in these affixes is indicative. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes *किन्*, because these being treated like *लिट्* will be *किन्* by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be *किन्* by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when *लिट्* follows, *गुन्* is the substitute of the verb *कृ* and of those that end in the long *अ*) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused *गुन्*. It is to prevent this *गुन्* of the letter *क्* that we have annexed an indicative *क्* to these affixes.

Vart:—The affixes *कि* and *किन्* are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in *खृ* &c., as *वेदि*: (Yaj. Vet. XII. 105); *वेजि*: (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart:—The affixes *कि* and *किन्* come after the roots *भाज्*, *कृञ्*, *वृ*, *जनि*,

ननि, and ननि in the secular literature also; as, दनिः, चक्रिः, सखिः, जतिः, जग्निः, नेनिः ।

Var.—The affixes नि and क्ति come after the Intensive (वृद्ध) roots of चद्, वद्, चल्, and वल्. As, चाचहिः चाचहिः, चाचलिः, यायतिः (VII. 4. 83).

स्वपितृषीर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपितृषीः, नजिङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेस्तृषेरच् तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृषेरपेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष् 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वप्नङ् 1st sing. स्वप्नङ् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णङ् 1st sing. तृष्णङ् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Var.—So also after the verb घृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, घृष्णङ् 1st sing. घृष्णङ् 'bold, impudent'.

शूवन्द्योराहः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूवन्द्योः, आहः, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शू हिंसायाच् वन्दि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः इताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आहःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आह comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शू 'to injure' and वन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As आहः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्रुक्रुकनी ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्रुक्रुकनी, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये खलनादुत्तरीस्त्वच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्रुक्रुकनी प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रुक्रुकनपि वक्तव्यम् ॥

174. The affixes क्रु and क्रुक्रु come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुक्रः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Var.—The affix क्रुङ् should also be stated; as भीरङ्.

स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थाईश भास-पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्थ 'to stand' ईश 'to rule' भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस् 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; वेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यश्च यङः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापये अस्मादङ्गन्तात्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix वच्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भाजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपूजुयावस्तुवः क्तिप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भाज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत-उर्जि-पू-जु-यावस्तुवः, क्तिप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्तिप् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भाज् 'to shine' भाव् 'to shine', पुर्व 'to injure', सुर्व 'to shine', ऊर्ज 'to be strong', पू 'to fill', जू 'to move rapidly' and लू 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word य वच् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभ्राज् 1st. sing. विभ्राट् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भः 'light'; पुर्व + क्तिप् = पुर्व् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. च् 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज 1st. sing. ऊर्ज 'strength'; पूर् 1st. sing. पूः 'what fills'; जूः 'swift'. In the case of जू, a long vowel is the substitute of जू; यावस्तुव (VI 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्तिप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाडयङ्प्रविधि does not apply in *āchchhālika* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते;
(तच्छीलादिषु, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिवचिप्रच्छयायतस्तु कटपुत्रुनीनां दीर्घोऽसम्भारश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्युतिवचिपुत्रुनीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुत्रुतेदीर्घश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृश्य इत्यस्य दृस्वरश्च द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः संभारश्च च ॥

178 The affix क्तिप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

As युज् 1st. sing. युक् 'joining'; क्षिर् 'piercing'; निर्व 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्तिप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases, there is not.

Vart :—When क्तिप् follows, the long vowel is the substitute of वच् 'to speak', मच्छ् 'to ask', आयवस्त् 'to praise long', कटम् 'to move through a mat', हु 'to move rapidly', and नी 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. 1. 16).

As, वाक् 'the voice'; मच्छ् + क्तिप् = मश् = क्तिप् (VI. 1. 10) = मश् + क्तिप् (VIII. 2. 36) = प्राश् (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; आयवस्त् : 'who praises long'; कटम् : 'a worm'; हु : 'swift'; नी : 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word हु which was mentioned in the last sūtra is redundant here.

Vart :—There is reduplication of the verbs द्युश् 'to shine', गश् 'to go' and हु 'to invoke', when क्तिप् follows. As, द्द्युश् 'shining'; गगश् 'going, the world'.

Vart :—There is lengthening also of the vowel of लुहुः as लुहुः 'a crescent shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire.'

Vart :—The root ह् 'to tear' is shortened also; as रहद् 'tearing'.

Vart :—The verb च्वा 'to think' has samprasāraṇa; as चीः 'thinking'.

भुवः सञ्ज्ञान्तरयोः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्वातोः संज्ञावाच्यत्वे च गम्यमाने क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, विभुः 'a person called Vibhu'; प्रतिभुः 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor

विप्रसंभ्यो इवसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, हु, असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सञ्ज्ञ इत्येवं पूर्वोक्तवतेर्वातोः दुप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दुप्रकारणे नितद्रूपादिभ्य उपसंज्ञायाम् ॥

180. The affix हु comes after the verb भू when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, प्र and वच् provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभुः 'all pervading'; प्रभुः 'lord'; संभुः 'Creator'

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe विभुः 'a person called Vibhu'.

Vart :—The words नितद्रु &c., also are formed by this affix. As नितद्रु 'the sea'; संभुः 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied हु and not क्तिप् to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes (1) To prevent the rules relating to dhātus from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of हुच् augment. Thus the 1st. dual of नितद्रु is नितद्रु, 1st. pl. is नितद्रवः. Here there is no substitution of वच् which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if हु had retained its dhātu characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. 1. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. नितङ्वा &c. (2.) We have no rule VI. 1. 71 required. नितं द्वनि = नितङ् ।

धः कर्मणि षट् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयते दधातोश्च कर्मणि कारके षट्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

181. The affix षट् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा to feed'.

The indicatory ध denotes that the feminine is formed by डीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhati*) all medicinal properties'.

दान्नीशसयुजस्तुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-भी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु तुह्-सि-मिष्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-महः, करणे, (षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् भी शस् यु युज स्तु तुह सि सिच मिह पत् दश् मह इतेष्वो षातुभ्यः कारके षट्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

182. The affix षट्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाष् 'to cut नी to lead', धृष् 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुह 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urinate', पत् 'to fall', दश् 'to bite' and मह 'to bind'.

As दान्, Ist. sing. neuter दानम् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts; नेत्र 1st sing. नेत्रम् eye'; यज्ञः (VII. 29.) 'a weapon'; योत्र 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्त्र 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्र 'a panegyric'; शोत्र 'a goad'; सेत्र 'a ligament'; शेक 'a sprinkling vessel'; नेहृद् 'the penis'; यन्त्र 'a vehicle'; दंष्ट्रा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंष्ट्रा belongs to the *Ajādi* class and hence forms its feminine in दाष् (धा) and not in ई (IV 1. 4).

The root दश् is read in the aphorism without its nasal i. e. as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as षट्; thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'.

And lastly नह् + षट् = नहष् fem. नह्री (VIII. 2 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः, (षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुह् पुह् पवने, अस्माद्धातोः कारके कारके षट्प्रत्यये भवति षट्त्वे कारकं हलसू-करयोरवयवो भवति ॥

183. The affix षट् is employed after the verb पु with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पु includes both पुह् and पुज्; as पोत्रम् 'a plough-share'; पोत्रणे 'the snout of a hog'.

अति-लू-लू-लून-सह-चरः इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अति-लू-लू-लू-लून-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति लू लू लू लून सह चर इत्येभ्यो धातुरयः कर्णे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs लू 'to go', लू 'to cut', लू 'to shake', लू 'to bring forth', लून 'to dig', लून 'to bear', and लून 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अतित्र 'a rudder'; लूत्र 'a sickle'; लूत्र 'a fan'; लूत्र 'cause of production'; लूनत्र 'a spade'; लूनत्र 'patience'; चरित्र 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः कर्णे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति सपुद्गायेन चेतसंज्ञा गन्वते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पु 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative and not descriptive.

The verb पु includes two verbs पुङ् and पुञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पवित्रं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of Kusa grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः, (इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः कर्णे कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्यथासंख्यं संवन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पु 'to purify' in the sense of the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devala* the force is that of an agent. As, चर्षित्रोऽयमुषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified) अग्निः पवित्रं च मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me' So also, वायुः षोडशः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनातु ।

जीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जी इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीतो धातोर्बर्तमानेऽर्जेकप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots marked with an indicative जि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthā* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time; and is so ordained by rule III. 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicative जि in the *Dhātupāṭha*; as जिनिदा 'to be affectionately inclined'; निन्नः (निद् + क्त = निद् + त = निन् + त (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So जिनिदा—विन्नः 'sounding inarticulately'; जिद्वा—बृहः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः;

च, (क्तः) ॥

मतिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्, पूजा पदकारः, एतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्यये मतिः ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राजां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, think, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; बुष्टः 'pleased'; बृष्टः 'angry'; वषितः 'angry'; अनिष्प्राहृतः 'uttered'; दुष्टः 'happy'; दुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः 'ready'; कष्टं 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also:—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; वषितः 'lying down'; खादितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; दुष्टः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

उणः दथो बहुलं ॥ १ ॥ पदाति ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unādi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Unādi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिवाच्यशुभ्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', नि 'to scatter', स्वदि 'to be pleasant to the taste', वाच्य 'to accomplish', and शुभ्य 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उण्=कारः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; नायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; चायुः 'who accomplishes the object of another hence virtuous'; and आयुः 'quickly'.

These *Unādi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुल has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unádi* affixes. Thus though the affix *उलच्* is ordained after *इष*, it comes also after *यक्* as *यकुला*. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unádi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover all the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is their effects are not without remainder (*वशेष*). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Śākṣīyāna, consider all nouns and substantives (*नाम*) as derivative words from simple roots (*धातुश्च*). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (*प्रकृति*) or affix (*प्रत्यय*) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unádi* affixes :

बाहुल्यं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायश्चुचयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यतयेशविशेषतदुक्तं नैगमरहितमयं हि तु वापु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुत्रयाद् निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।
यन्न पदार्थविशेषरूपस्य प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तद्वद्वम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विदादन्त्यन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुपादिपु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उत्पादयः) ॥

वाचः ॥ भूतेकाले उत्पादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unádi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unádi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on finding that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + चनिच् = चर्चन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर् + चनिच् = चर्चन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also चर्चन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

अविद्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अविद्यति, चनि-आदयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः बाधवो भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अमर्यातन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unádi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गन्तुं 'intending to go to the village'; आगन्तुं 'that which has to come'. So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतिबोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोधी 'an enemy'; प्रतिवादी; जावादी; भावी, &c.

Vart:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future वृत्, and not of the second future वृद्. As अस्मै गन्तुं वाच्यं 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः, लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराण्यदयोर्निपातयोश्चपदयोर्भविष्यति काले चातोर्लट्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and पुरा are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus आलोके ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावदस्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrugṇa to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipâtas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् दास्यति तावद् भोजयते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा गच्छिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर् 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्होः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्होः, (भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हं इत्येतयोश्चपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले चातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोजयते or भोक्ता; so also कर्हिभुङ्क्ते or भोजयते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्तायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्तायाम्, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे लिप्तायां भविष्यति काले चातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word **वृत्त** along with **किं** it is meant that the rule applies even when **कि** takes the affixes **कृतर** and **कृतव**. The word **लिप्सा** means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As **कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति** or **भोजयितारः** 'whom will you feed?' It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also **कतरो भिषां दास्यति**, **इदावि**, **दाता**, or **कतयो भिषां दास्यति** &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me?'

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as **कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति** 'who will go to Pataliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ च, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ गम्यमानायां भविष्यतिकाले जातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word **लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः** is equal to **लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धिः**, an Ablative-Tātpurusha Compound, signifying *si ldhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having **कि** in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As **यो भक्तं ददाति स स्वर्गं गच्छति** 'he who gives food goes to heaven'; **यो भक्तं दास्यति** or **दाता**, **स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति** or **गच्छा**.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (**लिप्स्यमान**) the success (**सिद्धिः**), in the saape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोड्यर्थलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्य-तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययेऽर्थादिर्लक्ष्यते येन च लोट्प्रत्ययस्योपात्तव्यः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भवित्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोट् means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छति (आगच्छति or आगच्छतः) अथ त्वं हन्तोऽधीष्व 'if the professor comes (i.e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोट्प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके भविष्यकाले लोट्प्रत्ययस्योपात्तव्यः वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'Mūhurta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvritti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्तादुपरि मुहूर्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छेत् (आगच्छति, आगच्छति or आगच्छतः), अथ त्वं हन्तोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, वुलौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यतिकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोर्भवित्यति काले तुमुन्वुलौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकल ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे वाचकपक्षे वृद्धादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the word in cons-

truction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोजेत् भुजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजेत् भुजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is भुजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्थ), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भित्ति ह्येति अस्य जटा: 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg'. Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe वावतस्ते पतिष्यति दण्डः 'running, thy stick will fell'.

Now, it might be asked why एतुल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of एतुल् in spite of लृट्.

Vart —The repetition of the affix एतुल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the of prohibiting the application of the affixes like वृच् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वाचस्पत्य (III. 1. 94.) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्ता भुजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुश्च instead.

These affixes from the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥११॥पदानि॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाववृत्तिः प्रकृत्य ये पञ्चादयो विहितस्ते च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियायादुपपदे क्रियार्थायां वर्तन्ते ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as पञ्च् &c (III. 1. 13) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction there with, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकय भुजति 'he goes to cook'; भुजये भुजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; भुजये भुजति

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाचस्पत्य rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence तुङ् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mole as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been specially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, चञ् &c. can be employed with the force of g rund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि॥ अण्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यते, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाडचक्य not applying, the affix एवुल would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāla rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of एवुल of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परत्वं given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क् &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1. could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो वृजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः । So also कम्बलदायो वृजति 'he goes to give' blanket'; अश्वदायो वृजति । दा + अण् = दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काष्ठलावो वृजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति; क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिकाले चकाराद् क्रियायां बोधपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोरुद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13 The affix 'Lrit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will do', हरिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लुटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञी यदुक्तान्तो वा भवतः ॥

14 The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and sânach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lrit'.

The सद् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affix यद् and यानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace सद् thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case affix. In these cases सद् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्ते देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जयिष्यन्नाको वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यन्नाकः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन् करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ + लृट् = क + स्य + लृट् (III. 1.) = कर + इट् + स्य + यद् = करिष्यन् nom. sing. करिष्यन् । In other words the participial affixes यद् (यानच् and यानच्, technically known as यद् and यानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लुट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिदेवने दत्तस्वनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lrit'. As खः कर्त्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. खो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट्. will be employed and not लुट्. As अद्य रवौ वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or to-morrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart:—The First Future (लृट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लुट्) when sorrow is expressed. As हयं तु कदा गन्ता, यैजं पादौ निदधाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' क्वं तु कदाऽप्येता, य एवमभितुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'.

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिभ्यो घातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्यया भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghan' comes after the roots 'pad' to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'vis' (to enter), and 'spris' (to touch).

The anuvritti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + घञ् = पादः 'foot' रज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so, वेद्यः 'entrance'.

Vart:—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as रूपायः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पृशे meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix अच्, under rule III. 1. 134; as स्पृशो देवदत्तः । There is difference in accent between these two words.

सु स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तैर्वातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपनिषत्संज्ञास्थिरे भवति ॥

17. The affix 'ghan' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent moves through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, सु + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say permanently fixed? Observe सर्वा 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart:—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विहारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे वाच्ये भातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghan' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, च् + चञ् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); त्यागः 'abandoning'; रानः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes चञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनञ्, पाकौ, पाकाः । These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुं वर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये चातोचञ् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghañ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्राचः (i. e. प्राच्यन्ति तच्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रवेद्यः (i. e. प्रवेद्यन्ति तच्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (i. e. आहरन्ति अस्माद्भवच्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As नयुराहारः, त्वयिलाहारः ।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe जेवः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word जेव is related to the verb निपति as agent, and the affix is consequently not चञ्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that चञ् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called चतुर्दाच points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसक्त्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नञ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अचित्, non-sit'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (जाव्)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नञ् Compound,

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-अ-ख्या-
याम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो चञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दारजातौ कर्तरि लिङ्गम् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots, when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + चञ् = निचै + ख (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्त्रयद्वयनिचायः; द्वौ रूपनिष्पत्तौ । कृ 'to scatter' + चञ् = कारः । द्वौ कारौ; त्रयः काराः ।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix खच् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix खच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣa*:—'Aparādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules'. Thus खच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so खच् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (वृत्तिः). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix चञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require खच् or खच् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken, however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use चञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by चञ् when it supersedes खच् and खच्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकान्वितोच्छ्रितः, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Verb:—The affix चञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *lak* elision of the causative affix लिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति धातून् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divide brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour'.

इडश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडो धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वास्तविकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियाशुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा डीप् ॥

वास्तविकम् ॥ यद् वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'इड्' (to study).

This debars ञ् (III. 3. 56). As ञ्चि+इ+घञ्=ञ्चि+इ+ञ्=ञ्चयाव 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यास्मादधीते 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इड् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix डीप्. As उपेत्याधीयतेऽस्या=उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घञ् comes after the root इड् when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As वारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृत-नीवारः प्रायेण शिथिले कृतः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे रीतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'रु' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars ञ् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रवः 'sound'.

समि युद्दुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्दु-वः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे द्रु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संदावः । But प्रयवः where the preposition is not sam.

श्रीश्रीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री-श्री-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री श्री भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'śri' (to go to) 'ni' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix ञ् (III. 3. 56). As श्रायः 'shelter', नायः 'a means', नावः 'a condition'.

But with upasargas, we have प्रश्रयः 'respect', प्रलयः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावी राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samāsa, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नय in नयो रात्रः ? Here the root नी has taken the affix अच् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वी क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वो, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वातुपपदे वु श्रु हत्येताभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 57); as, विहायः 'cough'; विआवः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have उवः and अवः ।

अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् हत्येतयोः उपपदयोर्नियतेर्धातोर्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As अवनायः 'throwing down'; उन्नयः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उन्नयः in उन्नयः चकार्यानाम् ? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रस्तुश्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेयद् उपपदे द्रु स्तु श्रु हत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'śru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रद्रावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रसावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and सवः ।

निरभ्योः पूल्वोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पू-ल्वोः (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूल्वोर्धातोर्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pû' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पु refers to both प्रु and लु. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before प्रु, and अभि before लु. As निष्प्रावः 'winnowing'; अभिलावः 'moving'. But पवः and सवः, without these prepositions.

उन्न्योर्ग्रः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, ग्रः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्न्योः उपपदयोः गृ हत्येताभ्यां धातोर्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grî' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow', As उद्गारः सञ्ज्वरस्व 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवदत्तस्व 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः ।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्नयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्माद्भातोऽन्नयोः सपपदयोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्भात्वर्थो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'kṛi', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निहारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्षोत्करः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे संपूर्वात्स्तौतेर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावरज-दोगानाञ् 'the Sanstāva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव = सचेत्य स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmanas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice' the orchestra.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवरक्षात्रयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे खोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, खः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तुञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोः प्रथङ्उपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, न चैतद्विषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛi' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शयप्रस्तारः 'a bed of couch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वावशब्दे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अवशब्दे, (खः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तृञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोर्विश्वशब्दउपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने मन्थनार्थे तच्चेत्प्रथनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛi' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word *प्रचन* means 'extent, circuit, range'. As *पटस्य विस्तारः* 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, *दृषविस्तारः* 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe *विस्तरे वचसा* 'prolixity of words'.

छंदो नास्ति च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नान्ति, च, (वी, स्तः, च०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रवर्तितस्तुवातेरुद्धोनास्ति चञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghan' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi' when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word *छन्दः* here means prosodial metre such as *Gâyatri* &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word *नास्ति* would not have been used. Thus *वि+स्तृ+चञ्* = *वि+स्तृ+चञ्* (VIII.3.94) = *विष्टारः* 'the name of a metre called *Viṣṭāra-Pankti*'.

The whole word *विष्टारपङ्क्ति* is the name of a metre, and is not a word ending with the affix *ghan*; only a member of this word, i. e. the first part ends with *ghan*. The seventh case-affix in the word *छन्दोनास्ति* has the force of location i. e. when the word so formed occurs in a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the full name, but it is in the name i. e. forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्गुपपदे ग्रहेर्होतिर्चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचि चञ् ॥ छन्दसि निप्रवर्तयते सुशुद्धनननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghan' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debarb the affix *अप्*. As *उद्ग्राहः* 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word *ग्रह* is preceded by *नि*; and the *ह* is changed into *च*; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, *उद्ग्राहं च निग्रहं च ब्रह्मदेवा अभीवृचन्* ॥

सनि मुष्टी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, मुष्टी, (ग्रहः, च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशुद्धपदे ग्रहेर्होतिर्चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिबिषयस्येद्भात्त्वर्थो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word *मुष्टि* means 'boxing', 'fist': as, *अथो मत्स्यस्य संग्राहः* 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; *अथो मुष्टिकस्य संग्राहः* 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe *संग्रहो चाण्यस्य* 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्त्योर्नीलोद्युताभूषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्त्योः, नी-इलोः,

द्युत-अभूषयोः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिण्यदे निण्यदे चोपपदे यथान्तर्गत्ति नि यद्वाच्यं धातोर्चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अभूष-
यवाहः, द्यूताभूषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि + नी and नि + इ, take चञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणायेन शरान् इति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman'. Here परिणाय = उच्यते इति means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि + इ + चञ् = नि + इ + ञ् = नि + ञ् = न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and पर्यय 'decay'; as न्ययङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अभूष means पदार्थानामनपचारो यथाप्राप्तकरणम् ।

परावन्नुपात्यय इणः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इणः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिण्यदे उपपदे इलो धातोर्चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गन्धनानि ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्ययः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः = क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः श्रितेः पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वि-उपयोः, श्रितेः, पर्याये, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोश्चोपपदयोः श्रितेर्धातोर्चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विश्रयः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विश्रयः 'my turn of rest'; तव राज्ञोपश्रयः = तव राजाननुपश्रयितुमर्थायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपश्रयः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विश्रयः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ताद् ने, चेः, चेस्तेये, (चञ्) ॥

हृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने हस्तदाने चित्तोत्कर्षात्तोर्यप्रत्यययो सञ्चति, तच्चेत् स्तेयं चौर्यं सञ्चति ॥
वाचिर्कञ् ॥ उपसर्गस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "chi" (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying "taking by hand" the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पसङ्ग्रहः "gathering flowers by hand"; फलसङ्ग्रहः "gathering fruits by hand".

Why do we say "taking by hand"? Observe वृक्षमश्वत्थानां फलानां वृक्षं प्रपदं करोति "he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree".

Why do we say "when not meaning to steal"? Observe पुष्पसङ्ग्रहचौर्येण "the gathering of flowers by theft".

Varṇ—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उपसर्गः "gathering"; as पुष्पसङ्ग्रहः "gathering of flowers by" hand";

**निवासचितिश्चरीरोपसमाधानेष्व्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-
वास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (चञ्) ॥**

हृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधानेषु, इत्येवमर्थेषु चित्तोत्कर्षप्रत्यययो सञ्चति आदेशोपदेश-
वशात् आदेशो वञ्चति ॥

41. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "chi" (to gather), and "k" is the substitute of the initial "ch" in these senses viz.—"a dwelling", "a fire on the funeral pile," the body, and 'collection'

That in which people dwell (निवासति) is called निवासः or "dwelling". That which is gathered together (चौर्यते) is called चिति or "funeral pile". शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निवासः "a dwelling"; as in कान्सीनिवासः "Kāśī-dwelling"; आश्रमसमाधानं चित्तोत्कर्षं "let him arrange the āśrama fire i. e. the funeral fire"; शरीरः body", as अनित्यः शरीरः "a perishable body"; वृक्षसङ्ग्रहः a heap of cow-dung".

Why do we say "when having these senses"? Observe चञ् "gathering". Why is not this rule applied in वृक्षसङ्ग्रहः "a large heap of wood"? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

**संघे चानौत्तरापर्य्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, चानौत्तरापर्य्ये,
(चेः, आदेश्च, कः, चञ्) ॥**

हृत्तिः ॥ संघे चाप्ये चित्तोत्कर्षात्तोर्यप्रत्यययो सञ्चति आदेशश्च कः ॥

42. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "chi" (to gather) and "k" is the substitute of the initial "ch" in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word *संघ* means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts:—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryudāsa* negation the other is taken. Thus *निहुकनिकायः* 'the assembly of beggars'; *ब्राह्मणनिकायः* 'the assembly of Brāhmanas'; *वैयाकरणनिकायः* 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But *सुकरनिकायः* 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also *कृताकृतसमुच्चयः* 'the collection of what is done and not done'; *प्रमाणसमुच्चयः* 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no *संघ* in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghun* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे यच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,
यच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने चातीर्ष्यप्रत्यये यवति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

42. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word *कर्म* means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case, *व्यतिहार* means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (*भाव*) also. The *anubandha* च in यच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि + अव + कुप् + यच् + अन् + डीप् = व्यावक्रोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहारी, व्यावलेखी. The affix यच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix अन् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix डीप् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यवतिपाशो वर्तते ।

The making of this a separate sūtra by itself, and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with क्तिच् (III. 3. 94), is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms, that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with क्तिच् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred क्तिच् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar क्तिच् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावचोरी, व्यावचरी । Here वृच् being a ययन्त class root would have taken युच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरवा; and चर्च् would have taken चर्च् by III. 3. 104, as चर्च्. The roots ईच् and ईच्, by III. 3. 102 and 103, take च by debarring क्त्वि. This debarring affix च, however, is not debarring by this rule; as च्यतीवा, च्यतीवा are the proper feminine forms, and not च्यतीवा &c. The form च्यातुवी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of च्युल taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधी भाव इनुच् ॥४४॥ पदानि॥ अभिविधी, भावे, इनुच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधी गन्धवाने पातोर्भावे इनुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44 The affix 'inuṣ' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus चर-विचर्च् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; च+चुट्+चर्+अच् (V. 4. 15, and VI. 4. 164)=चङ्कुटिचर्च् 'a general confusion'; so चलिचलिचर्च् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe चङ्कोटः, चरवाचः, चद्रावः ।

Why do we use the word अच् again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the चाङ्कुटिचर्च् rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence चर्च् never comes in this sense. Pātañjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त्वि &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त्वि &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of अच् ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as in the last aphorism. The affix इनुच् is not, however, prohibited; as चङ्कुटिचर्च्. See rule कृत्यच्युटी च्युल (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुच् (the operative part being चर्च् forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अच् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवयोर्ग्रहः ॥४५॥ पदानि॥ आक्रोशे, अवयोः, ग्रहः, (चञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् नि हत्येतयोश्चवर्चयोर्ग्रहेर्वातोर्षज्मात्रयो भवति आक्रोशे गन्धवाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghaṇe' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुच् is immediately near, we take the anuvṛitti of चञ् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अववाचो ह्यन् वे वृचस्यवाच् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निवाचो ह्यन् वे वृचस्यवाच् ।

Why 'when meaning 'cursing'? Observe अववाचः चरत्त्वि; निवाचः चरत्त्वि ।

मे लिप्सायाम् ॥४६॥ पदानि॥ मे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, चञ्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण्वद्वयप्रत्यये प्रत्ययान्तरादिक्रमोक्तौ भवति विष्वाभाय् चम्पकानायाय् ॥

46. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "grah", when the word "pra" is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As आत्मप्राप्तेऽर्थे भवति निष्ठुः निष्ठुः "the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand"; स्रग्प्राप्तेऽर्थे भवति निष्ठुः निष्ठुः "carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brahmana walks about for his fee". The word निष्ठुः means the wish to have something.

Why do we say "when meaning desire of gain? Observe ग्रहो देवदत्तः ॥

परी यजे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परी, यजे, (यज्, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रत्ययप्रत्यये प्रत्ययान्तरादिक्रमोक्तौ भवति ॥

47. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "grah", in composition with "pari" when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिवारः "the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar"; दक्षिणपरिवारः "the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar".

Why do we say "when relating to sacrifices? Observe परिवारः देवदत्तः "the fencing of Devadatt".

नौ वृषान्ये ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, षान्ये, (यज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्प्रत्ययप्रत्यये वृष्येतिप्रत्ययेनान्वयिनेतिप्रत्यये च प्रत्यये भवति ॥

48. The affix "ghañ" comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by "nī"; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृक्ष and वृश्. This denotes the affix च्. As नीवृषः "rice growing wild or without cultivation".

Why do we say "meaning grain? Observe निष्पत्तिः a virgin girl".

उदि न्यतिवैतिवृद्धः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, न्यति-वैति-वृद्धः, (यज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण्वद्वयप्रत्यये अण्वान्तरादिक्रमोक्तौ भवति ॥

49. The affix "ghañ" comes after the verbs "śri", "yu", "pū" and "dru" when the preposition "ut" is in composition.

This denotes the affix अच् (III. 3. 56). Thus उदयः "rising of a planet"; उत्तमः "mixing"; उत्पन्नः "purifying ghee"; and उडः "flight".

How do you explain the form सुपुङ्गवः in पतन्तः सुपुङ्गवः? The word निष्पत्तिः "optionally" in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहवलोकनश्यायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ऽऽङि रूप्लुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा; आङि; रूप्लुवोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङि उपपदे रीतेः रलवतेरच विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ân' is in composition.

As आरन्धः or आरवः 'noise'; आप्लावः or आप्लवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रतिबन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived: अवेऽवग्रहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

मे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ मे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मे शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तवाच्यश्चेद् वणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra' when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāshā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलामग्रहः or तुलामग्रहः, as तुलामग्रहेण चरति or तुलामग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe मग्रहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्नी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्नी, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, मे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ म शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्नीश्चेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as ग्रहः or ग्रहाहः 'a rein'.

वृणोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहणद्वयपदे वृणोतेर्भाषाविभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तेन वेदाच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a clock, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe प्रवरा गौ ।

परौ भुवो ज्वज्जने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्जने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिग्रहद्वयपदे विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्जने गृह्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhū', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिनामः or परिणमः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word परिणमः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं = परिणमः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एवर्णान्ताद्भातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायामच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अस्मिन् भयादिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अवस्यो हन्दि वक्तव्यौ ॥

56 The affix 'āch' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'ī' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19 : and these words are to be applied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars च् The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चयः 'collecting'; अचः 'going'; जयः 'victory'; वयः 'wasting'

Vart.—In this connection the words चव &c. should also be enumerated. As नी+अप्=नयप् 'fear'; वर्षप् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क &c. but for this Vârûka.

Vart.—The words चव and चव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरस्तु ने जवः, पंचोदनवः । These roots वृ and वृ would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. Veda I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI 2.

ऋदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकाराभ्यो हवर्णाभ्योऽप्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'rî', short 'u', or long 'û', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars चप्. The प् is indicative for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, कृ+अप्=करः 'scattering'; वृ+अप्=वरः 'beverage, poison'; वृ+अप्=वरः 'arrow'; वृ+अप्=वरः 'barley'; वृ+अप्=वरः 'reaping'; वृ+अप्=वरः 'winnowing corn'.

The इ in ऋद् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not इ changed into ऋ; for then by the rule "that which follows इ is also called वपर" short ऋ only would have been taken and not long क (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृद्धनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह वृद्ध निश्चि-गमः, च,

(अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो वातुभ्योऽप्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृत्तिरप्योदपसंख्याः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वज्रं वृत्तिर्वातुभ्योऽप्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah'. 'vri' 'dri', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars चप्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix अप् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; वरः 'tearing' a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; वरः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken अप्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वच् and वच् should also be included in this; as वच् 'obedient'; वच् 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of चप् the affix क is directed to be employed, after the following verbs :—स्था, स्था, या, चप्, वृप् and वृप्. As मत्स्यः 'a table-land' (on which they move); मत्स्यः 'a vessel for bathing, (in which they bathe); मत्स्यः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविचः (VI I. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विवृणः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आवृणः 'battle, (where they fight),

उपसर्गेऽद् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अद्, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदेऽर्धातोऽप्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विचरः (II. 4. 38), 'half-chewed morsel'; प्रचरः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe चरः 'grass'; अद् + चञ् = चस् + अ (II. 4. 38).

नौ ख च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, ख, च, (अद्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नियुक्त उपपदे अदेर्धातोर्धःप्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् च ॥

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + न = नि + आद् + न = न्यादः (VII. 2. 1-16) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अप् = नि + चस् + अ (II. 4. 38) = निचरः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोःनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars चञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आठ्याया, उच्यताया ।

स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; प्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; प्रहासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतदुपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam' when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars चञ्. As संदानः or संवनः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; निषानः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; विषानः or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः

नौ गदमदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, गद-मद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निबन्ध उपपदे नद नद नद स्वय इत्येतेभ्यो वातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars नञ्. Thus निबन्धः or निबन्धः 'recitation'; निबन्धः or निबन्धः 'noise'; निबन्धः or निबन्धः 'reading'; निबन्धः or निबन्धः 'a noise';

कृशो वीर्यायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृशः, वीर्यायाम्, च. (जी, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृशोर्वागोर्निप्रबन्धनुपसर्गाच्च वीर्यायां वा अप्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix नञ्. Thus निक्कः or निक्कः, a musical tone'. कृशः or कृशः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि, as कृशाचमकृशा वीर्या.

But not so here. कृशिको वर्तते where the upasarga being नञि and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, कृश tak is अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पक्षः परिभाषे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पक्षः, परिभाषे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पक्ष उपपदारे स्तुतो च, अस्मादुक्तोर्नित्यपप्रत्यये भवति परिभाषे अन्वयान्ते ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'par' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvritti of the word optionally. Thus पक्षदपक्षः 'a handful of radishes'; पात्रदपक्षः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पात्रः 'trade'.

मदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मदोर्वागोर्ननुपसर्गादपप्रत्यये भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars चञ्. As विद्वान्दः 'pride of knowledge'; धनदः 'pride of wealth'; कुलनदः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मत्तदः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

'As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कोकिलानां संमदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when making delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; उन्मादः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb mad preceded by pra and sam takes the affix ap' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are रुढि in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरजपशुषु उरजतेर्होतोः पशुविषये चात्त्वर्थेऽप्युत्पद्यते भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चञ्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by उत्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् if means 'driving'. As उत्पन्नः 'a herd of cattle'; उद्वजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle? Observe उत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणानां, उद्वजः वज्रिवाणां ।

अक्षेषु ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेषु, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अक्षविषयस्येडात्त्वर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root गृह्. The verb गृह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms गृह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ह; as गृहस्व ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when reterring to gambling'? Observe गृहः पादस्व ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring चञ्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix चञ् :

प्रजने सर्त्ते ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्त्ते, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्त्तेर्जातोः प्रजने विषये अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars चञ्. The word प्रजने means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवाशुपवरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशुनाशुपवरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः संप्रसारणे च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप नि इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु ह्ववतेर्जातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars चञ्. As नि+ह्वे+अप्=नि+हु+अ(VI. 1. 108)=नि+हो+अ(VII. 3. 84)=निह्व VI. 1. 78 'invocation'; अभिह्वः 'invocation'; उपह्वः 'invitation' निह्वः 'calling'. But प्रहायः 'a summons'.

आडि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आड् उपपदे ह्यतेर्जातोः संप्रसारणम् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽनिचये ॥

73 The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'ân', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आह्वः 'battle' (where they challenge each other). But otherwise आहावः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आडि ह्वः, सम्प्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आह्पूर्वस्य ह्यतेर्जातोः संप्रसारणम्प्रत्ययो वृद्धिरव निपात्यते निपानं चेदनिचये भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह्वे by the prefix आ, the samprasârana, and the viddhi of the vowel. Thus आ+ह्वे+अप्=आहु+अ=आहो-अ=आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आहावः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (ह्वः,
संभारस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य ह्वतोः संभारस्यप्रत्ययेऽपि भवति भावेऽपि च ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'live' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As ह्वः 'calling'; ह्वे ह्वे इत्येव इत्यन्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it'? Observe आहारः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19, which was running, must not be taken; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भवे, अनुपसर्ग-
स्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हानोऽनुपसर्गस्य भावे अप् प्रत्ययेऽपि भवति, तत्संनिधौ च वधादेशः, वधान्वयोदाहः ॥

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudāt has generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधरोपाहार 'the killing of thieves'; वधोदस्तृप्ताहार 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix अप् applies; as पातः 'a blow'.

also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as मृषातः, पातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect ह्व with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix च also; as पातः 'killing'.

मूर्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्तौ घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्तौ घनोऽनुपसर्गस्य भावे अप् प्रत्ययेऽपि भवति, वधादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han' when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word घन means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अमलघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दृढघनः 'solid'. How do we say घनं दृढं? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अमलघनो देहे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमलः, घनः, देहे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमलः मूर्तौ घनोऽनुपसर्गस्य भावे अप् प्रत्ययेऽपि भवति, वधादेशः ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'antar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर + हन् + अप् = अन्तर्घन = घन् + अ = अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ल as अन्तर्लघः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ घटदौ निपात्येते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghāna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from ह् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्पाधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, उत्पाधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेः उद्घन इति निपात्येते उत्पाधानं चेद् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उद् + ह् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेः अपघन इति निपात्येते, अङ्गं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप + ह्. Thus अपघनः 'a limp or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणेऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयद् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु हन्तेर्घातोः करणे कारकोऽपुस्त्ययो भवति, घनादेशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As **अयोधनः** 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); **विघनः** 'a mallet'; **दुधनः** 'an axe'. Some write **दुधन्**, the **n** being changed into **ध** either by rule VII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of **आरोहणादि** (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बश्च उपपदे कर्णे कारके इत्येः कः प्रत्यये भवति चकारादप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word **च** in the sūtra draws in **अप्** from the last aphorism and in that case **च** replaces **हृ**. Thus **स्तम्बघ्नः** or **स्तम्बघनः** 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are **स्तम्बघ्ना** as well as **स्तम्बघना**. When **क** is added, we have **स्तम्बघ्नः**. Thus **हृ + क = हृ + अ** (VI. 4. 98) = **घ्न** (VII. 3. 54). When **अप्** is added, **हृ** is totally replaced by **च**. When instrument is not meant, we have **स्तम्बघातः**.

परी चः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परी, चः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिग्रहउपपदे इत्येर्हानोर्प्रत्यये भवति कर्णेकारके पयस्वरस्योदेशः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus **परिचः** or **परिघः** (VIII. 2. 22.) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपघ्नस्य इत्येर्प्रत्यय उपधाकोपरय निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding **अप्** (III. 3. 76) to the verb **हृ** preceded by the upasarga **उप**, then eliding the penultimate **अ** of **हृ**; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules **हृ** is changed into **घ्नः**. This form would have been given by the affix **क** also, without any irregularity.

The word **आश्रय** refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus **पर्वतोपघ्नः** 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also **ग्रामोपघ्नः** 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe **पर्वतोपघातः**.

संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गण-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्त्वं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीह्यपदयोर्हन्तेर्ह्यतोऽप्यप्रत्ययद्वितीयो घट्त्वं च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणोऽभिधेये
प्रशंसायां गण्यमावादात् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irregularly
formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise'
respectively.

These words are thus formed; सङ् + हृ + क्त्वं = सं + हृ + क्त्वं = सं + हृ + क्त्वं = संघः ।
Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घो ननुद्वयः 'an excellent man'.
The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these
senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निचो निमित्तम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निचः, निमित्तम्, (हन्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निच इति निप्रवर्द्धन्तेऽप्यप्रत्ययद्वितीयो घट्त्वं च निपात्यते निमित्ते चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the
sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित्त means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'.
As निचा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निचा बालयः 'square or cubic or circular
halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निचात 'a blow'.
The word निमित्त = समन्तान्निर्दिष्टं, समारोहपरिमादम् । It may be derived from नच् or from
निच् । In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'.
Professor Bcthlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning
of this word.

द्वितः क्त्रिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, क्त्रिः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इदस्य तस्माद् द्वितो चातोः क्त्रिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which has
an indicatory 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense
is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name
is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the
previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्त्रि, नच् is always the aug-
ment) we must add नच्, for we can not use the affix क्त्रि alone; but we must al-
ways use क्त्रिच. Thus दुपचच् to cook—पक्त्रिच 'what is ripe'; दुवच्—उचक्त्रिच 'sown'
(VI. I. 15); दुकृच्—कृक्त्रिच 'artificial'.

द्वितोऽयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इदस्य तस्माद् द्वितो चातोऽयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावाद् ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As दुवेष्टु—वेष्टुः 'a trembling'; दुओरिव—रवयुः 'swelling'; दुष्टु—वयुः 'sneezing' दुडु—दवयुः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादिभ्यो घातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yāch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchh' (to shine), 'prachchh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nan' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The नङ् of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi (I. 1. 5); as यजः 'sacrifice'; याचजा 'solicitation'; यतनः 'effort'; चिरनः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्ननः 'a question'; रक्षनः protection.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ऋ before the ङिङ् affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रश्ननः in III. 2 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final नङ् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वपनः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुञ्जकेभ्यो घातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final ञ् is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+दा+कि=प्रदिः 'a present', प्रणिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपपणिः 'fraud'; अश्ववर्दिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मण्यधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः, भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तर्युपपदे पुंसञ्चकौभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिः प्रत्ययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix क्ति from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावादौ धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नाम्नादिभ्यश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्लान्ताद्यादाभ्यो निः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रुकात्त्यादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः क्तिप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चञ्, अच् and अप् affixes. Thus वृत्तिः 'action'; चितिः 'a gathering'; जतिः 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix ktin should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus जातिः 'getting'; राटिः 'accomplishment'; दीप्तिः 'shining'; लप्तिः 'a slip'; ध्वप्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so हविः 'a sacrifice'; वृत्तिः 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs ली 'to be exhausted', ली 'to fade', ज्य 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'; वृद्धानिः 'fading'; ज्यानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

Vant.—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long ऋ and the verbs लृ &c. is like a Nishṭhā. कीर्षिः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्तिन् = क्ति + त्रि (VII. 1. 100) = क्तिर् + त्रि (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + त्रि (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त्रि is changed into न by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this न is changed into च by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also नीर्चिः 'praise'; नीर्चिः 'old age'; नीर्चिः 'drying'; कृन्तिः (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; वृन्तिः 'joining'; वृन्तिः 'agitation'; वृन्तिः 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix कृप् comes after the verbs संपद् &c.; as संपद् 'prosperity'; विपद् 'calamity'; प्रतिपद् 'access'. The affix कृत् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः. The verbs कृ &c. are 21 verbs of the kṛyādi class.

स्थागापापघो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ यदानि ॥ स्था-गा-पा-पघः, भावे, (स्त्रियां, कृत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थादिभ्यो चातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावे कृत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'kṭin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debarṣ the affix ञङ् (III. 3, 106) which generally supersedes कृत् in cases of compound verbs ending in long ञा. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीतिः 'a singing aloud'; नै+कृत्=ना+ति (VI. 1. 45) =नी+ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रसीतिः 'a cistern'; सपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛtiti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like ञवस्था and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like ञवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like ञवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix ञङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply कृत् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेपपचसनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ यदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, वृष-इष-पच-सन-विद-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, कृत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषये वृषादिभ्यो चातुभ्यः कृत्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In the Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vriṣh' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhû' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'râ' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मत्तिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; वृत्तिः 'being'; वीत्तिः 'consuming'; रत्तिः 'giving'.

The affix कृत् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इप् we have also an irregular noun इष्या (III. 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

**ऊतियूतिजूतिषातिहेतिकीर्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-
यूति-जूति-षाति-हेति-कीर्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्थादयः षष्ठा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz., 'ūti' (preserving sport), 'yūti' (joining), 'jūti' (velocity), 'sāti' (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kirti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word ऋति does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed:— ऋच् 'to protect' + क्तिच् = ऊ + तिः (VI. 4. 20.) = ऊतिः; this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in वृत्तिः and जूतिः consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in षातिः the षा of the root षे which becomes ष by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into ष, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root षच् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus षच् + क्तिच् = षा + क्तिच् (VI. 4. 42) = षातिः. The form हेति may be derived either from हच् or हिनीति.

इन्द्र वाजेषु भोजसु दुश्शत्रुमघनेषु च । दुश्शत्रुमभिर्हृदि विर्तिः ॥ (Rig. Veda. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

**वृजयजोभावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्,
(उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वृजयजोर्भात्वोः क्लित्तिर्भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिच्. Thus वृज्वा 'wandering about'; दृज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The ण् of क्यप् is indicative, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having ण्, that we add a त् by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

**संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदपुञ्शीङ्भूजिणः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥
संज्ञायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद-पुञ्-शीङ्-भूज्-इणः, (क्लितां, क्यप्,
उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तधादिभ्यो वातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an 'appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'nishad', 'ni-pat'. 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śiñ' 'bhrīñ' and 'ip'.

Thus सप्तधा 'an assembly'; निषदा 'a small bed or couch'; निपटया 'slippery ground'; चन्वा 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; वृत्त्या (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शय्या 'bed'; श्रुत्या 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards वृ. By rule III 1. 112, वृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form वृत्त्या by that rule also. But the वृत्त्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix क्यत् to the exclusion of क्यप् :

संज्ञायां पुं चि दृष्ट्या न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति तेन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of the Kāsikā as भाव-व्यापारो. वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, नतु वाच्योऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kri' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two:—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्ति'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्त्या (VI. 1. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III.1.67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो योगभावरश्च निपात्येते ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिचर्यादृगयाटाटयानाशुबसंख्यानम् ॥

दातिकम् ॥ जागर्तरेकारो वा ॥

102. The form 'ichchhá' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed: इप् + श = इच्छ + श = इच्छा. The यक् ordained by III. 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिवर्षा 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; हुनया 'hunting'; अटाटव 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जाग्र we have either जागरा or जागर्षा 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix च, the latter by य which brings-in चक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययास्तेभ्यो चातुभ्यः स्त्रियानकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called चातु (III. 1. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ+चर्=चिकीर्ष 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष, we add अ. Thus चिकीर्ष+अ (VI. 4. 48)=चिकीर्ष. Then we add टाच् by IV. 1. 4. and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्षा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; लोभ्या 'much cutting'; करड्या 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात्.

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (स्त्रियां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो चातुर्गुणान् ततः स्त्रियानकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्तिन्. Thus कुरडा 'an adulteress'; दुपडा 'a tigress'; वेडा 'effort'; उडा supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

विद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः.

अङ्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्भ्यो भिदादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियानङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs that have an indicative 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c. when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृष् has an indicative ष्, the real root being जृः. From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); जपुष्—जपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of the *Bhidadi* class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः. So also क्षिदा 'cutting'; क्षितिः 'cutting'; जारा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; चार्तिः 'distress'; चारा 'a stream'; चृतिः. The list of the *Bhidādi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupāṭha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

चिदा, चिदा, चिदा, चिदा, गुहा, (गिर्योपभ्योः), अडा, चेदा, गोधा, आरा, हारा, कारा, चिदा, धारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, इडा, पीडा, वषा, वषा, हुना, वृणा, कृपा, (करोःसंप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥१०५॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च रभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियां अङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'añ' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pūj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Ohurādi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; वषा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥१०६॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपसदे स्त्रियां अङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अदन्तरोपसर्गद्वयः ॥

106. The affix 'añ' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिच्. Thus प्रदा, प्रधा, उपदा, उपधा, &c.

Vart—For the purposes of this rule the particles अच् and अन्तर should be treated like upasargas. Thus अदा 'faith' अन्तर् (I. 4. 59).

असासन्नभ्यो युच् ॥१०७॥ पदानि ॥ असा-अन्न-भ्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो असासन्नभ्य इत्येताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षट्ठिर्विन्दविदिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इषेदनिष्कार्यस्य युज्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ñi', and after 'ās' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + युच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारया (the य is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारया 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; ऋणना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आसया ? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding एवस् to the root आस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वासवरूप rule does not apply to Feminine affixes ? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्तिवास् in III. 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), इयप् (III. 3. 98), क् (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavâda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general क्त affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आस् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like क् (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix एवस् ।

The root ऋण् taken here belongs to the Kryâdi class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the ऋण् of the Ohurâdi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Ohurâdi class which class of verbs take the affix चिप् ।

Vart.—The verbs बह् 'to move', बह् 'to praise', and विद् 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus बहना 'shaking', बहना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb बह् here belongs to the 'Tudâdi' class, and means 'to move' and not बह् of the Ohurâdi class, for that is already included by being चिप् ।

Vart.—The affix युच् comes after एव् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अन्वेयया 'solicitation'; अन्वेयया 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when एव् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्यवसा or परीष्टि: 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगाख्यायां एवुल्बहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आख्यायाम्.

एवुल्, बहुलम्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां ग्रन्थानामां धातोर्बहुलं एवुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धातुवर्गनिर्देशे एवुल्प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छितवौ धातुनिर्देशे इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वर्णातुकारः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रादिषः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भट्टवर्णान्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इज्जादिभ्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इक्ष्णुयादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, being the name of 'diseases'.

This debars क्ति and all the rest. By using the word आख्या in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual license in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus मूच्छर्दिका (VII. 1. 1.) 'vomiting'; मूखादिका 'diarrhœa'; विचर्दिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्त्ति 'head-ache'.

Vart—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आशिका 'to enjoy', शायिका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and शित् (that is शप् and शित्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as निदिः, छिदिः, पचतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root नि and पु exhibited as नयतिः and योतिः. These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also अकारः 'the letter अ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'.

Vart.—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेक्.

Vart.—The affix इ comes after the word नत्वर्थ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final अ; as नत्वर्थीयः.

Vart.—The affix इन् comes after the verbs अञ् &c; as आनिः, आतिः, आदिः.

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृप् &c; as, कृपिः, किरिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (श्वल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोरुल्लस्यये भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

AS उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरसपुष्प-मवाहिका 'a sort of game'; आम्बुपलादिका; आचोपलादिका; शालभञ्जिका; तालभञ्जिका ।

विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-
ख्यान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (श्वल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गन्धमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'iñ' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as) well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34,) and hence *ākhyāna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word एवुल् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां त्वं कारिणकार्षीः 'What work did you do?' A.—सर्वां कारिणकार्षीस् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कृत्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, अकार्षीः A.—सर्वां कारिकां or कृत्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां अकार्षीस् । Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) अजीगणः A.—सर्वांगणिं &c. अजीगणस् । So also कां याजिस् or याजिकास् ; कां याचिस् or याचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer'? Observe कृतिः and इतिः ।

पर्यायार्हर्षोत्पत्तिषु एवुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-अण उत्पत्तिषु, एवुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

इतिः ॥ रतेचवर्षेण धातोर्णुच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'nyuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; अण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिर् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शयिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽग्रयाचिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिहोन्नहिकास् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इहोन्नहिकां मे धारयति 'then owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इहोन्नहिकां मे उदपादि ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीर्षोत्पद्यते ।

The forms given by एवुल् and एवुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1 193, and VI. I. 163).

आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नञि, अनिः ॥

इतिः ॥ आक्रोशे नञ्यनानि नञ्युपपदे धातोर्निः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिर् &c. Thus अकरिणस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O 'sinner'! तस्याकरिणोवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटदस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नञ् is in composition'? Observe इतिस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O! sinner'!

कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, ल्युटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ह्युट् च बहुलनर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyut', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kritya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं दूर्घम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीये ब्राह्मणे 'a Brāhmaṇa to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ह्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाभ्यादनानि वस्त्राणि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *krit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus वादाभ्याश्च द्वियते = वादहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns : thus, हसिष्य 'laugh'; जलित 'speech'; शायित 'sleeping'. So also गतं, चरितं &c.

ह्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ह्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyut' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जलपनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरद्वयम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-बुद्धम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पर्शमानस्य कर्तुः शरीरबुद्धबुद्धपदयोः तस्मिन्कर्मरूपपदेधातोर्नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyut' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a *नित्य* or invariable compound *i. e.*, a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a *नित्य* compound (II. 2. 19). Thus पयः पानं बुद्धं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; ओदनभोजनं बुद्धं 'the pleasure of eating rice.'

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe हलिकाया उत्थानं बुद्धं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada हलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निर्बुद्धोपासनं बुद्धं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं बुद्धं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to baths'. Here the word बुध् is not the agent but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य वरिष्ठवज्जनं बुद्धं 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कंटकानां मर्दनं बुद्धं 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च,

(ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोर्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyut' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus **दृक्प्रवृत्तः** 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); **पलाशशतः** 'palāśa-cutter'; **गोदोहनी** 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked; so also **सक्तुषानी**). In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां चः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाश्च, चः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंलिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेययोर्भातोर्चः प्रत्ययो भवति रुजुदायेन चैव संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word **प्रायेण** 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus **दन्तच्छदः** 'the lip'; **छादि** 'to cover' + **च** (VI. 4. 96) = **छद** lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also **उरच्छद** 'a breast plate'; **चट**. These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus **आ + कृ + च = आकरः** 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, **आश्रयः** 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe **प्रसाधनश्च** 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative'? Observe **प्रहरणी दण्डः** 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory **च** is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative **छादि**, when **च** is added, the long **आ** is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवहवृजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-वृज-आपण-निगमाः, च (चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा सम्ययास्ता निपात्यन्ते पुंयेल्लिङ्गेष्वर्थे ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'saṁchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'āpaṇa' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix **च** with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *aparāḍa* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix **चञ्** is added. Thus **गोचरः** 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); **संचरः** 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); **वहः** 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); **वृजः** 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); **व्यजः** 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in to replacing the अच् of वज् (वि + अच्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; आपण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निक्षः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रीः, चञ्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र उपपदे त्रस्त्रोर्घञ् च धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'strī' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' formed is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च । The ञ् is indicative and causes the vṛddhi of अच् (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicative च् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent' (or incarnation of a deity); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative ? This use is also allowed, because the अनुवृत्ति of the word प्राच is understood here also ; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलश्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंलि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into); वन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपाचार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रागः, Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यावाद्यः शब्दा यजन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyâya', 'nyâya', 'udyâva', 'samhâra', 'âdhâra' and 'âvâya' are anomalous

These words are formed by adding the affix यज् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+यज्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी+न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are led); उद्+यु=उदायः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); वद्+ह=वहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ+धृ=आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ+वि=आवायः=आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः ।

उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति तिपात्यते अनुदकं विषयस्येद् पात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udañka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उद्+अञ्च+यज्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix यज् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैलौदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदङ्कोद्वहनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उद्+अञ्च+हृद्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उदञ्च्? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by यज्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of यज्, will fall on the final.

जालानायाः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं वेत्तव्यमिति ॥

124. The word 'ânâya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+यज्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो वृषाणां 'a net for wild deer, &c'.

खनो य च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, य, च, (करणाधिकरणे, यज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्द्विगोः करणाधिकरणयोर्धः प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् यज् च ॥

यार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वौ वक्तव्यः ॥

यार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वौ वक्तव्यः ॥

यार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वौ वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकवको यक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix घञ् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word घञ् । Thus खाखानः or खाखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix उ also comes in this sense after the verb खर्. Thus खाखर्+उ=खाखरः 'a spade'. The indicatory इ showing that the final portion called णि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix हर also comes in the same sense: as खाखरः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as खाखिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकवक as खाखनिकवकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कृच्छ्र-अकृच्छ्र-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु इत्येतेषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र means heavy, and दुस् has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ्र means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो मयदा कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c.'? See कृच्छ्रार्थे कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe ईषत्कार्ये 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called दुस् augment, VI. 3. 67); and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment दुस् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृजोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः; च, भू-कृजोः, (ईषद्-दुःसुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेरच धातोर्यथासंख्यं कर्तरि कर्मणि चोपपदे यकारादीपदादिषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वर्तितम् ॥ कर्तुं कर्मजो रज्ज्वयं योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhū' and 'kṛi', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'asnad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदादय भव 'being enriched easily'; दुरादय भवच् to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वादयकते देवदत्तो भवत 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix च्चि (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here स्वादेयन भूयते or आदेयन भूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्; (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्रा-
कृच्छ्रार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु ईषदादिभूपपदेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'â', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty)

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तु-
कर्तव्य &c. This supersedes the affix खल्. Thus ईषत्पानः सोमो भवत 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुरपानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. दृषद्दानो गौर्वता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्दानः, दुरानः &c.

खन्दति गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ खन्दति, गति-अर्थेभ्यः,
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषूपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्च खन्दति विषये युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129 The affix 'yuch', comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खल्. Thus सूपसदनोऽग्निः । सूपसदनमन्तरिक्षम् । See T. S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्च खन्दति विषये युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ साधारणं शासिषुषिदृशिषुषिदृशिष्यो युच् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus **दुयोद नाम कृषोद् ब्रह्मणे गां**; so also **दुवेद नाम कृषोद् ब्रह्मणे गां** ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuch' comes after the verbs **याच्, धुष्, दूष्, घृष्, and हृष्**; as **दुःशासनः** 'Duḥśāsanah'; **दुर्योधनः** 'Duryodhanah'; **दुर्दर्शनः**, **दुर्द्वर्षणः** and **दुर्भर्षणः** ।

वर्तमानसमीप्ये वर्तमानावद्धा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदान् ॥ वर्तमानसमीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसमीप्ये भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानाद्धातोर्वर्तमानवत्प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words **समीप्य** and **समीप्य** are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix **प्यङ्**. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word **समीप्य**, that the affix **प्यङ्** also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words **चातुर्वर्षः** &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with **sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लट्)** and end with **III. 3. 1 (उषादय बहुलं)** are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question **कदा देवदत्ताऽगतोसि** 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either **अयमागच्छामि** 'I come now'; or **आगच्छन्तसेव नां विद्धि** 'know me even to have come'; or **अयमागतम्** 'I have now come'; or **ययोस्त्वागतः** 'I have come now'. So also to the question **कदा देवदत्त गमिष्यसि** 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either **एष गच्छामि** 'I go now' or **गच्छन्तसेव नां विद्धि** or **एष गमिष्यामि** or **गन्तास्मि** &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (**वत्**) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (**प्रकृति**), and words in compositions (**उपपद**), and restrictive significations (**उपसर्ग**), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and these circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus **यानच्** by rule **III. 2. 128** comes after the prakritis **प्र** and **यञ्** in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after **प्र** and **यञ्**, and so on. Thus **पवनानः**, **यजनानः**, **अलंकरिष्युः** (**III. 2. 136**) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (**समीप्य**)'? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As **एवम् अगच्छत् पटलिपुत्रम्** 'he went day before yesterday to Pātaliputra'; **एवम् गमिष्यति** 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word **गच्छामि** can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense'.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गन्धमानायां पातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया एवमित्यकाराद् वर्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word **आशंसा** means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of **च** is to draw the word **वर्तमानवत्** from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (**लृट्**), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus **उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छत्** or **आगतः**, or **आगच्छति** or **आगमिष्यति** वा **एते उपाध्यायमध्यगीष्यन्ति**, or **अधीतवन्तः** or **अधीनहे** or **अध्येष्यान्ते** 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by **लृट्** (Aorist); and not by **लङ्** or **लिट्**. For **लृट्** denotes past time in general, while **लङ्** and **लिट्** denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase **भूतवत्** making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to **लिट्** or **लङ्** which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe **आगमिष्यति** 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गन्धमानायां चातोर्लुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future only can be employed. Thus उपाध्यायरेद्विप्रसागनिष्वति (or उपाध्यायरेदागतः—*Apts.*) हिप्रं उपाकृतज्ञपद्येस्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of हिप्र also, such as यीम्रं, आशु, त्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लुट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever hope is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus; —न हिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express hope". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लुट् and लृट्. By specifying लृट् we mean that लृट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—रवः हिमनद्येस्यामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे चातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *apavada* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायरेदागच्छेद्, आशंसे वृत्तोऽधीवीव 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे हिमनधीवीव 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये वृत्तोऽधीवीव, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न,

अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गन्धमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15; through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लङ् (Imperfect Past) and लृट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियाप्रबन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; an वानीप्प means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus यावज्जीवं भुज्यन्ममदात् (not अददात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; भुज्यन्मम दास्यति 'he will give much food'. यावज्जीवं पुत्रोप्यापिपत् 'throughout his life he taught', or यावज्जीवं अप्यापिष्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus येन पौर्णमास्यात्क्रावता, इतस्यानुषाध्यायोगीनाधित or सोमेनाबध् or गानदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. ऐवमनावास्याऽऽपानिनी, इतस्यानुषाध्यायोगीनाधास्वते or सोमेन बध्स्वते, or व वा दास्वते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-to-day' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति नर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, नर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (मानद्यतभवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले नर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविशान्नेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नामद्यतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus कोशाम्ब्यास्त्वन्न खापाटलिपुत्रास्त्वय यदवरं कोशाम्ब्यास्त्वन्नोद्वं भोक्ष्यामहे, तत्र सक्तुं प्यास्वावः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe कोशाम्ब्यान्तत्र खापाटलिपुत्रात् तत्र यदवरं कोशाम्ब्यास्त्वन्न यत्ता अप्येवम् 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe कोशाम्ब्याविरवधिक

नन्तव्यस्तस्य यदवरं कौशाब्द्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तुं पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयमप्यवगन्तव्य आषाढलिपुत्रात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाब्द्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit ; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे,

च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्, (भविष्यति, नर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अन्नद्युत्तनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सत्त्वरस्मिन्विभागे भावयति कालेऽनयनवत् प्रत्ययविशिर्न नवांत, न वेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137 The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only ; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संबत्सर आगामी तत्र यदवरनाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after, next, we shall read together'; तत्रोदनं भोक्ष्यामहे we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here : योऽयं वत्सरोऽतीतस्तस्य यदवरनाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together'; तत्रोदनमभुञ्जमहे 'we ate together &c.'

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य यदवरनाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे—तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side, i. e., अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case ; as, योऽयं नाच आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्वात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरोऽर्द्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशदहोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे तत्र सक्तुं पातास्मः । Here Luṭ or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भ-
विष्यति, नर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालनर्यादाविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽनव्यतनवत्
प्रत्ययविभिन्नं भवति, न चेदहोरात्रवचनस्य प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made
with regard to that side of a limit of time,

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: 'The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".'

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संबत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमाशुहावययास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे or अध्येतामहे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अवर.

लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-
निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुपत्तौर्लिङित्येवमादिषु लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्ते भविष्यति काले
लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्यात् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin' the
affix 'Lrin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-comple-
tion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for the affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtras III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide*.

Thus शुक्लिरचेदभविष्यत् तदा शुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन वेदावास्यान् यकटं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कनकजम् आह्वारयन् न यकटं

चर्वाणविषयत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; आनीषयत् भवात् युतेन यदि नत्सनीयत् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come)'.

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka.' The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कनकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियाति पत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्वात् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140, And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin', the affix 'Lrin' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtras III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो नया भवत्वुत्तोज्जनार्थं चङ्क्रन्वन्नाहः अपरपच द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थं, यदि च तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोषयत्, न तु मुक्तवान्, अन्येन पथा च गतः । 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि च तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोषयत् is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

बोताप्योः॥१४१॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्नि-
मित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः सनर्थयोर्लङ्किति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मात् सूत्रावधेयेदित् ऊर्ध्वानुक्रान्तिव्याजः,
१४१ भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3, 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the 'Liṅ' may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वा by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The optional use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with उत and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लट्पिजातवोः॥१४२॥पदानि॥गर्हायां, लट् अपिजातवोः,॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गन्धमानायाद् अपिजातवोरपदयोर्गर्हायोर्लट्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or 'jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure', 'blame'. The affix लट् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवाद् दृषत् वाजयाव 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवाद् दृषत् वाजयति गर्हान्ते, इहो अन्यायनेतव 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also क्वचि or जातु जायां त्यजसि 'Fie ! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife'!

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्यया भवति, चकारास्तत् ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लट् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिता, अयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लृक्; therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृक्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं अयाजयिष्यत् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृक्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं वर्नेत् अत्यजिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लृट्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा इति विन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari'?

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषलो यं तत्र सवाजवाजविष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sûtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवक्तृपत्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवक्तृसि-अ-मर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपदेऽनवक्तृपत्यमर्षयोर्वातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवक्तृसिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवक्तृपत्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवक्तृसिः ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्षः (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of चवाचल्यं, (I. 3. 10). does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न अद्दधे, तत्र सवात् नाम वृषलं वाजयेत् or वाजविष्यत् 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र सवात् वृषलं वाजयेत् or वाजविष्यत् 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्र सवात् नाम वृषलम् अवाजविष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्, (अनवक्तृपत्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु उपपदेऽनवक्तृपत्यमर्षयोर्वातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The word within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किं and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिङ्). Thus किंकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नास तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिष्यति, न नर्षयामि, न नहृष्ये 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृट्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न नहृष्ये न नर्षये वा । काकल त्वं शुद्रान् भोष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sudra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शुद्रां गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवज्ञ-पत्यनर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यदि येन योऽप्ययदोः अनवज्ञ-पत्यनर्षयोः गम्यमानो यो सोऽतो लिङ्प्रत्यये भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ् विधाने यदायदोः पत्यनर्षयान् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'jātu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत्, or यन्मानं तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत्, न नहृष्ये, न नर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् वा त्वत्पुत्रो न नर्षयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृट्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अजिनिन्दिष्यत् नावक्तव्यमिति, न नर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिः सवास्यस्तन्मुखोऽच्छ्वसन्मन्थं तव रसि रभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृप्त्यसर्वयोः, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोश्चपदयोरनवकृप्त्यसर्वयोर्गन्धमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र वा त्वमेव कुर्याः न शङ्के, न सर्वयानि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लुङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोश्चपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गन्धमानावात् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavakṛipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debarbs all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं वाक्येत् ऋद्धो वृद्धः च्च द्राक्ष्यः, गर्हानहे, अहो अग्राय्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brâhmana (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sûdra, O ! It is improper' !

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र त्वं हरिं निन्देः or अग्निरिन्द्यः, गर्हानहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोश्चपदयोश्चित्रीकरणे गन्धमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debarbs all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं वाक्येत् आश्चर्यमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आरचयेनेत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं गृहं याजयेः or अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आरचयेनेत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं गृहं जयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृङ्यदौ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषेऽपदे चित्रीकरणे गन्धमाने चातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति यदिशब्दरचनेन प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आरचये, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अथो नाम पर्वतमारोहयति, वशिरो नाम उवाचरन् आयेच्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आरचये वादं शास्त्रीयते 'a wonder, if he study'. आरचये यदि च भुञ्जीत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,

लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्दोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of वादम् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्वीत 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्वीत 'assuredly he does'; उतापीयीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c.)'; अप्यपीयीत 'surely he studies &c.'

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत दंडः पतिस्यति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं चादयति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with चा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृट्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृट्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but *सुह्* must be employed where *sūtras* III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदेऽ कचिचि ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदेन, अकचिचि,

(लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छामित्याद्य इत्यर्थोऽन्तरत्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशयत्, तद्विषयं नभयमानेऽकचिचि-
इत्यपदे भावीलिङ्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kacchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदेन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवाच्=अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवाच् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कचिचि'? Observe कचिचिञ्जीवति ते माता कचिचिञ्जीवति ते पिता । नारदिह त्वां पृच्छानि कचिचिञ्जीवतिपार्वती ॥ I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living. I ask thee, O mārāvid ! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living'.

संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने,
अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताप्यवयवानां कालिकप्रयोगः । विदितानीमलमर्धेन विवेच्यते, तत्पक्षे
संभावनं, पर्याप्तवित्तं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो जित्वा, सिद्धाप्रयोगोऽप्रयोगः, कृषाणी सिद्धा,
वन्न नभयते कार्यो नचासौ प्रयुज्यते, तदीदृशे संभावनेऽप्राप्तिर्लक्ष्यं । संभावनाद्भातोर्लिङ् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. the word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलं. The word अलं means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true, i. e., realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलं, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलं is valid or unobjectionable'. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलं is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि चर्चत गिरसा भिन्नात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोण-
चाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलं 'competent to do'? Observe, विदेवस्यापी

देवदत्तं प्रायेण न निश्चयति यान् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though 'expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by शक्तं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, शक्तं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (युद्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽप्याद् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, उत्तमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातायुच्यते वृत्त्यदवर्जिते धातौ विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The 'affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय शक्ति, or शक्तिमान्, is called संभावन वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयानि युज्यते or भोष्यते भवाद् 'I expect you will eat'; शक्त्यवयानि युज्यते or भोष्यते भवाद् 'I hope you will eat'; शङ्कते युज्यते or भोष्यते भवाद् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यद् is employed. As सम्भावयानि यद् युज्यते भवाद् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यद् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति धातौ वसंतानाद् धातौर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word **हेतु** means 'cause or condition' and **हेतुम्** means 'consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (**हेतु**) and *apodosis* (**हेतुम्**), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—**दक्षिणेन वेद्यावाग्नं गच्छत् पर्यामवेत्** 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; **यदि कलमकम् आहूयेन्न गच्छत् पर्यामवेत्** 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (**हेतु**), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (**हेतुम्**).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus **दक्षिणेन वेद् यावद्वति न गच्छत् पर्यामविष्यति** 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word **विभावा** 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of **लिङ्** could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: **हन्तीति पलायते** 'he kills, therefore he flies'; **वर्षति इति धावति** 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (**लृङ्**) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु चातुर्विधेषु पदेषु पदोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कानमवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157 The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing' in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as **इप्**, **क्व**, **मार्थं** &c., are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus **इच्छामि कापये** or **मार्थये पुञ्जीत भवान्** or **पुङ्क्षां भवान्** 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Vart.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: **इच्छन् करोति** 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु पातुषु समानकर्तृकेषु पदेषु चातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वहि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; विनाकापातिं पतिम् आहूय इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pināka-handed God Siva.'

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यद्वदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुञ् and इष् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु पातुषु पदेषु चातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Liñ' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीय इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अधीयीयेतीच्छति 'he wishes that he will read.'

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो पातुषु वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Liñ) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise कट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वहि or उरयात्; कामयते or कामयेत् ।

विधिनिमन्त्रणान्मन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विध्याद्यर्थेषु पातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Lin' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधिः means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणं 'means giving invitation'; आनन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अभीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; चन्द्रप्रश्नः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

(1) कर्तुं भवति 'let him make the mat'; भवति भवति आनन्त्रणं 'you come to the village';

(2) and (3) इह भवति भवति 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवति आसीत् 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अभीष्टासीति भवति मातृवत् भवानुपनयेत् 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं मे व्याकरणमधीयते उत तर्कः ? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic ?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयते 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आनन्त्रण-अभीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटप्रत्यये भवति चातावद्यादिप्रत्ययेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

(1) कर्तुं तावद् भवति करोतु 'make the mat'; भवति भवति आनन्त्रणं ।

(2 and 3) अनुत्तु भवति आस्तात् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रं भवति आद्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं मे वेदमध्यये उत तर्के 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमधीयते हन्दीमध्यये 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रेषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रेषः, कालव्यतिरेकानुपपन्नतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावधारः प्राप्त-कालः, एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word *प्रेष* means 'direction'; *अतिवर्गः* means 'permission to do as one likes'; *प्राप्तकालः* means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of *च* is to introduce the word *लोट्* into this aphorism. Thus *नमस्ते करोतु*; *करोषीयः*, *कर्तव्यः*, *कृत्यः* or *कार्यः* 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive-Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c.) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus *करोतु करो* 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (*भाव*) and object (*वर्त*) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that *लोट्* being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an *apavāda* or special rule excludes an *utsarga* or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim:—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3, 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the word *विधि* and *प्रेष*? Some say *विधि* means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while *प्रेष* means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वनीकृतिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-नीकृतिके, (प्रेषातिवर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषादिषु गण्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वनीकृतिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाङ्गादीर्लिङ्प्रत्यये लक्षणे चकारादुपवा प्राहृष ॥

164. The affix *Liṅ* (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a *Muhūrta* (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words मैव &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्वा and लोट् from the last sūtra, into this. Thus कर्ष्यं युद्धार्तादुपरि युद्धार्तस्य भवता खलु ,कटः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवद् खलु कटं कुर्यात् (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c.', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III.3. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, अर्ध्वनीहृत्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दपददेप्रैषादिषु गन्धनानेकैर्ध्वनीहृत्तिकेऽयं वर्त्तमानाढातोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta.

This supersedes the Potential (लिट्) and Potential Passive Participles (लृत्वा). Thus कर्ष्यं युद्धार्ताद् भवद् कटं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, गावबकनध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Mānavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दपददेऽधीष्टे गन्धनाने वातोर्लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अशीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अङ्ग स्म राज्ञश्चाग्न्यवकनध्यापय or अङ्ग स्म राज्ञस्तन्निहोतं बुद्धि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिषु पदेषु वातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तु 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने वेचितु 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तु 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुम् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अवसरोऽयमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c', is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्युट् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtras III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III. 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलाहु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tumun'. (Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हे, कृत्य-तृचः, च, (लिङ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हे कर्त्तरिवाच्ये न्ययनानि वा धातोः कृत्यतृचः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liñ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोढव्या वाशा or वदनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्या वोढा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वदेत् (liñ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being specially enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकान्वययोर्निनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-सर्वयोः, निनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकभावविशिष्टे आधनसर्वविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्निनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170 The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus अवश्यं करी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also दत्तं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; ददन् दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

कृत्याश्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकाद्यनर्थयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्याश्चकारच प्रत्यया आवश्यकाद्यनर्थयोर्व्यापिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता सद्यः अवश्यं कटः कसेट्यः, करवीयः, कार्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता दत्तं दातव्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix चिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for चिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (कर्म) and the 'object' (वर्ग); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भवन्, देय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तात्प्रयोगापाधिके चात्वंने लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Liṅ' as well as the '*kritya*' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root. Thus भवता सद्यः भारो वोढव्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (*kritya*), or भवत् सद्यः भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्-लोटी ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्षि विभेज्ये वर्त्तमानाद्वालोर्लिङ् लोटी प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Liñ' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word **आशीर्** means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The **किङ्** here referred to is what is known as the **आशीर्लिङ्** or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary **किङ्** which we have called the Potential or Optative; as **चिरं जीव्याद् भवाद्** or **चिरं जीवतु भवाद्** 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe **चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः** 'Devadatta lives long'.

किञ्क्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किञ्-क्तौ, च, संज्ञा-याम्, (आशिचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिचि विषये चातोः किञ्क्तौ प्रत्ययो भवतः समुदायेन चेतसंज्ञा गण्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus **वृत्तिः = वतुवाद्** 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); **चातिः** or **वृत्तिः = वतुवाद्** (VI.4.45) wealth or gift'; **भुक्तिः = भवताद्** 'success'; **मन्निः = मनुताद्** 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix **किञ्**. Of words formed by **क्त** in this sense, we have **देवदत्तः = देवा दत्तं देवाद्** 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix **क्त** has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by **किञ्**. The **च्** of **किञ्** is qualifying only, distinguishing it from **किङ्** &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

माङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mān' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As **नाना कार्षीत्** 'let him not do' **नाना हासति** 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence, instead of the Aorist? **नाना भवतु तस्य पापं नाना न विषयति**. This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another **नाना** which has not the indicatory **ङ्**; and with that **नाना**, other tenses may be used. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle **नाना**, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ् च, (माङि, लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्यये भवति चकारलङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mān' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत् or कार्षीत् 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत् or हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्
अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER VI.

—:O:—

धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातुवर्गानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषतविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्वृत्तिः अयथाकालोक्तः
अपि प्रत्ययाः धातवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk :—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निहोत्रयाजिष् have a past significance, i. e., they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agnishotoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निहोत्रयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जायिष्या means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishotoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this: "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (सम्बन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धातुवर्ग 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed' that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वदन् ददर्श 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो भविता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः रजो भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यभावीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वदन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वदन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word भविता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier Agnishtomayaji.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this form III. 1. 1 ? Ans.—The repetition for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमाद् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix गतुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present sigdification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमाद् meaning 'who has cows' or 'in which there are cows.' This word गोमाद्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासनभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वी वा चतध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि॥
क्रिया-सनभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वी, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसन्धेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्गोलीट्प्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वसकाराणां भववादः तस्य च लोटो हि स्वं इत्येतावादेभ्यो भवतः, तध्वन्भाविसन्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Lot' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'ava', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Lot'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसन्धेः of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called सनभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all mood. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and च्) and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and च्स्व). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different any the verb be in and tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं लुनावि 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव त्वं लुनावि, तुवाच लुनीषः or त्वं लुनीष 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेत्येव त्वं लुनीष, अहं लुनानि, अयूनकावीत् &c. 'you cut I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायनधीते, इमौ अधीषाते इमे अधीषते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीष्मनधीष्वन्तित्येव शूयनधीष्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहनधीते, आवाहनधीष्वे, वचनधीष्वे ।

The Intensive verbs in च् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वौ, वा, तध्वमोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयवान् क्रियावचनाद्वातेरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्यये भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वावादेशौ भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed; namely, हि, स्व, or त and च्स्व । Thus आचक्ष्णन्त नतन्त सङ्कष्टन्त स्यात्स्यपिधानन्तेत्येवावचनन्ति or इनावचन्तः, or इनेऽवन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as is in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly अन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणधीष्व, निरुक्तधीष्वेत्येवायनधीते, or इनावधीषाते or इनेऽधीषते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणधीते,

कन्दोऽधीते, निवक्तनधीते, इत्येवाधनधीते, इनाधधीते, इनेऽधीते । कन्दोधीते, व्याकरत्तनधीते, निवक्तनधीते, इत्येव त्वनधीते, पुवानधीते, वृयनधीते । कन्दोधीते व्याकरत्तनधीते, निवक्तनधीयइत्येवाधनधीते, आवाधनधीते, वदनधीते ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-
प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् लोट् विधाने यथाविध्यनु प्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2.) the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लूनीहि लूनीहीत्येवायं द्विनति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut' Such as लुनाति, &c. So also अधीन्वाधीच takes अधीते only after it and not a synonymous verb like वदति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-व-
चनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये लोट् विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य पातेरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus क्रीदन् भुङ्क्ते, चक्षुःपिव, धानाः खादेत्येवायमन्वयवदति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अन्वयवदति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of a/ the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

कन्दति लुङ्लङ्लिटः, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्दति, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः,
(चातुर्वचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्दति विषये चातुर्वचने चर्तेषु कालेषु लुङ् लङ् लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words चातुर्वचन and अन्वयवदति are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवो देवेभिरावन्त (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगन्तु has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतव्य प्रचेतव्य

इदं तेष्वोऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17) Here अकरं is Aorist (अङ्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमदा होतारमवृषीताय यजमानः । Here अङ् is used instead of लट् ।

So also अद्या नवार = अद्य त्रियते । Here लिट् is used instead of लट् ।

**लिङ्ग्ये लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्ग्ये, लेट्, (कन्दसि, अन्यतर-
स्वाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्ग्ये चत्त लिङ् विधीयते, विध्यादिहेतु हेतुगतोर्लिङ्ग्ये वनादिस्तत्र कन्दसि विषये अन्यतरस्वां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus केषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful', वारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. चतावि विद्भुत् (Rig, VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवामि (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also नदिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, तसिषत्, उदधिं च्यावयात्रि ।

**उपसंवादानेङ्कयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशंक्योः, - च,
(कंदसि, लेट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशंकायां च गन्धनानायां कन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Ohhandas Literature.

The word उपसंवाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिदं कुर्याद् अहमपि भवत इदं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसंवाद ; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव यजुनामीये ॥ नदशा एव वो ग्रहा युक्ता मन्ते ॥ नद्देवस्याग्रेव वः यान्नादयु-
च्यन्ते ॥ नेत्रिज्ज्ञायन्त्यो (or नेत्रिज्ज्ञायन्त्यो) नरकं यतान् ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk) = जिह्वापरसेन
नरकपात आशंक्यते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the
Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not option-
ally, which anuvritti was understood in the last sūtra.

तुमर्थे **सिसेनसेअसेन्कसेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन्ध्यैकध्यैन्शध्यैन्तवे-**
तवेङ्-तवेनः ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-कसे-कसेन्-अध्यै-अध्यैन्-
कध्यै-कध्यैन्-शध्यै शध्यैन्-तवे-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (कन्दसि) ॥

तुमुनोऽयंस्तुमर्थः, तत्र कन्दसि विषये चातोः स्यादवः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:— 'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', adhyai', 'adhyain', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavi', 'taven' and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:— (1) से=से, सेन् and सेन् ॥ (2) असे=असे, असेन् and असेन् ॥ (3) अध्ये=अध्ये, अध्येन्, कध्ये, कध्येन्, अध्ये and अध्येन् ॥ (4) तवे ॥ (5) तवे=तवेन् and तवेन् ॥

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. र्, क्, य् and क्. The forces of र्, य् and क् have already been explained; the indicatory र् makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 36 सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory क् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sârvadhâtuka, and the root takes the proper Vikarâṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवे, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमन् 'the sense of the affix तुमन्'. The word तुमन् is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e., it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से=से रायः । (2) सेन्=तवान्ने' रवानात् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्=अस्ते यत्नं वरदो जीवसे' वा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कस्ते दद्यात् जीवसे' (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) क्से=मेवे भगाव । (6) क्सेन्=गर्भानिष क्रियसे' (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us क्रियसे । (7 and 8) कध्ये, कध्येन्=कर्मरपुषवारप्ये । (9) कध्ये=इन्द्राग्नी आनुवध्ये' (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कध्येन्=जिघ्रसे । (11 and 12) कध्ये कध्येन्=पिबध्ये' (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह नादुषध्ये' (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवे=सोमनिन्द्राय पातवे । (14) तवेन्=तं ते गर्भं इवागहे दधने नावि सुतवे' (Rig. X. 184. 3) (15) तवे=नतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9), कर्तवे ॥

प्रये रोहिष्ये अव्यथिष्ये ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रये, रोहिष्ये, अव्यथिष्ये, (तुमन्, कंदसि) ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ प्रये रोहिष्ये अव्यथिष्ये इत्येते अव्यथा निपात्यन्ते क-दवि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रवे देवेभ्यो नही; (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + वा + कै = प्रवे = प्रयातुम्। (2) अपातो बहीनां रोहिष्यै । रुद् + इष्यै = रोहिष्यै = रोहिषाय । (3) अ + व्यद् + इष्यै = अव्ययिष्यै = अव्ययनाय ।

दृष्टे विरुये च ॥११॥ पदानि॥ दृष्टे, विरुये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृष्टे विरुये इत्येतौ छन्दसि निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driṣe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृष्टे विश्वाय सूर्यश्च (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुम् । विरुयेत्या इरानि = विरुयामुम् ।

शक्ति यमुल्कमुली ॥१२॥ यदानि ॥ शक्ति, यमुल्-कमुली, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ यमुली पातावुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे यमुल्कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'namul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix कमुल् the real affix is कम्; the letter क् causes vridhhi (VII. 2. 115; and न regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क् prevents guṇa and vridhhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाचक्रुः 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni' विभज् + कमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुम् । So also अपचक्रुः नाचक्रुः, instead of अपचोमुम् ।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्कमुनी ॥१३॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कमुनी, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरश्च उपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे पातोस्तोसुन्कमुन्प्रत्ययो भवतः ।

13. The affixes 'tosur' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the words 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितो = अभिचरितुम् । ईश्वरो विक्षिप्तः विक्षिप्तितुम् । ईश्वरो विवृदः = विवर्द्धितुम् ।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेनूकेन्यत्वन् ॥१४॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केनू-केन्य-त्वन्; (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो भावकर्तृको, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य त्वन् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai,' 'ken,' 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes.'

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्तृक). Thus अन्वेतवै = अन्वेतव्यम् परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै = नावगाहितव्यम्; विद्वेषवः (Rig.

1. 146. 5) = दिष्टवित्तव्यस्य; शुभयेदवः = शुभपित्तव्यस्य; कर्तव्यः; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्तव्यवद्।

The affix त्वे was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle, For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, क्न्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाचक्षिड् इष्टप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुषा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावल्लयातव्यस्य; अव + चक्ष् + इष्ट् = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेकृज्-वदि-चरि-कु-तनि-जनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥
भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इङ्-कृज्-वदि-चरि-कु-तनि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, क्न्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्मन्त्रे वर्तमानेभ्य स्थादिभ्यो चाहुभ्यश्चङ्गवदि विधये तुभ्ये तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz:—
'sthâ' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'krin' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थे is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षणे 'qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—आ संस्थातोर्बेकां वीदग्निं = आसमाप्तेः वीदग्निः। इष्ट्—पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतिरासेवः। कृज्—पुरा बलवानावाकर्तः। वद्—पुरा प्रवदितोराग्नी प्रहोवचक्ष्। चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नी प्रीये होतव्याः। (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) कु—आ होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति। तद्—आ तनितोराक्षत (Taitt. Br.-I. 4. 4. 2) जन्—आ विजनितोः सम्भवान Taitt. S. II. 5 1. 5).

सृपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुभ्ये, क्न्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृपितृदोर्होत्वोर्भावलक्षणे वर्तमानोर्होत्वदिविधये तुभ्ये कसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विवृषः। पुरा मूर्त्त्य विवृषः (Yaj. I. 28.); आवृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); कृत्वा कसुन् आवृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खल्वोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, क्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरपपदवोर्धातोः स्या प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu,' expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvritti of the words 'in the Vedas &c.' does not extend further. Thus अलं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl!

Why do we say 'when there are अल and खलु'? Witness नाकार्यः 'do not make.' Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration.'

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अलरोदनेन 'do not weep.' Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word माचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि॥ उदीचां, माङः, व्यतीहारे, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङो वातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानादुदीचाभावाभावां नतेन स्याप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' is added to the root 'meñ' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अयमित्य वाचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप+ने+क्त्वा = अप+वा+त्यप् = अप+नि+हुक्+व (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप+नित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपययते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvâ*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root नेङ् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माङ्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhâṣhâ:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhâṣhâ ऐप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while ए remains, ऐप् does assume the form दाप् and is consequently, by the prohibition अदाप् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed डु ।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरेण च परस्य पातोः क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvâ' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus 'अप्राप्य नदीम् पर्वतः स्थितः' 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river, i. e., on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly 'अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता' 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain.' Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words :—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानकर्तृकयोः द्वौत्वर्थोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेपात्वर्थे वर्तमानाद्भातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आत्वं व्यादाय स्वपिति सम्नीत्य इत्यतीत्युपसंख्यानपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolutive in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus अकुत्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes.'

The rule is not confined to the case of two verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, अकुत्वा, दत्त्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes.'

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus व्रजति ब्राह्मणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brahmana having been fed, Devadatta goes.'

Why do we say 'which denotes prior action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters.'

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति, संनीह्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्ये णमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि॥ आभीक्ष्ये, णमुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'ṇamul' and 'ktvā' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sūtra. The affixes ktvā and namul express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा पायं पायं व्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यि नाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(क्त्वा, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दपदे धातोः क्त्वाचमुलो प्रत्ययो न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'ṇamul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense, in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, ktvā and namul are not used, when the word yad is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix ktvā also, though the affix namul is in immediate context. Thus यद्यं भुङ्क्षते ततः पचति, यद्यनधीते ततः शेते, having 'eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have यद्यं भुक्त्वा व्रजति, अधीत एव ततः परम् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus: "In connection with यद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषाग्रप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि । विभाषा, अग्र-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्र-प्रथम-पूर्व-इत्येतेषूपपदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाचमुलो प्रत्ययो विभाषा भवति ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition:—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprâpta-vibhâshî*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथमं, पूर्वं वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c., may be employed also. Thus अग्रे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वाचस्पत्य (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhâshâ*:—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvâ* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule".

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c., when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and वृत्तुल्.

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only वृत्तुल् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृजः खमुज् ॥२५॥ पदानि॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, कृजः,

खमुज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृजो चातोः खमुज् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गन्धवाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुज्, the efficient portion is अच्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment वृत् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारणाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e., he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c. &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुनि खमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुनि, खमुल्, (कृजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्वर्ण्युपपदे कृजो वृत्तुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another have the same agent', the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or खवङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुङ् is used ending with a ङ. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a ङ must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वादुङ् कृत्वा यवागूषं भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागूषं भुङ्क्ते : Here though स्वाङ् is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वादुङ्.

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खनुङ् ? That will solve all difficulties ; and will give us the augment नुङ्'. To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment नुङ् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will not come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्चि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खनुङ् will not remove the difficulty in the following case ; अस्वादुङ् स्वादुङ् कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix क्वा in the alternative. Thus स्वादुङ् कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते. All these affixes form abstract nouns (नाम) as they have the sense of the affix नुङ् (III. 4. 16). In connection with नुङ्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction ; *e. g.* स्वादुङ्कारं यवागूषं भुङ्कते देवदत्तेन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवं कथमित्यसु सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२९॥ पदानि॥ अन्यथा-एवं-कथम्-इत्यसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कृञ्, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कृञो यामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेति भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृञ् valid ? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवंकारं, कथकारं or इत्यकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते.

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid' ? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो मुहूर्त्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृञ् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, अ-सूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृजः, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरस्यपदयोः कृजो शमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने नश्यवान् ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathā' and 'tathā' being compounded with it, when angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kriñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा तत्त्वं द्रक्ष्यसि 'in what way I will eat' that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृञ् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः, साकल्ये, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्द्राक्शोर्शमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know)' takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कस्यादर्थं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees, i. e., all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e., all'.

Why do say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्कृत् उपपदे विन्दतेर्जीवतेश्च शमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv', (to live), when then the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्देहं भुंक्ते he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवनधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his 'life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि,

शामुल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मचोदपदयोः पूरयतेर्शामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं कुंति 'he eats so as to fill his belly' ? चर्मपूरं स्तुषाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin.'

वर्षप्रमाणं ऊलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे,
ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, शामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेर्द्वितीयांशुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ऊलोपश्चास्य पूरयतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति अनुदायेन चैद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणनिश्चयता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill)' when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोचपदपूरं or गोचपदमं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil).' चीतापूरं or चीतामं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows.'

Why have we used the word अस्य 'of this pûr' in the sūtra ? The long ऊ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus नूषिकाविलपूरं or नूषिकाविलमं वृष्टो देवः । Here the long ऊ of नू is not shortened.

चेले क्नोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मणि, शामुल्, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नूयो शब्दे उन्दने च, अस्नापयन्ताद्वातोश्चेलोर्षेषु कर्मणु उपपदेषु शामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing,' in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्लोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्नू 'to wet.' Thus चेलक्लोपं वृष्टो देवः or वस्त्रक्लोपं or वसनक्लोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes.'

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः
(कर्मणि, शामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूल सभूलशब्दयोः कर्नवाचिभोवपदयोः कर्षेद्वातात्तुल्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकाश् कश्ति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; सभूलकाश् कश्ति 'he scrapes up to the roots.' In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकाश्कश्ति being equal to निमूलं कश्ति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरुक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रुक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्नवाचिभूपदेषु पिषेद्वातात्तुल्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chūrna' (powder), and 'rūksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कमेव पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णमेव पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रुक्षमेव पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry.' Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलकृतजीवेषु हन्कृज्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृज्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्नसूपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृज् ग्रह इत्येतेभ्यो चातुभ्यो यमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla,' 'akrita' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots, i. e., he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवघातं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e., captures him alive.' Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेद्वातात्तुल्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'ban,'

When a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the Veda with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot.' Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हृ here does not mean 'to kill,' and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं ।

According to Pāṇjali, this affix comes after हृ under this aphorism, even when हृ means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus अस्त्रिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows.'

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्धातौर्धमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उदपेचं पिनहि = उदकेन पिनहि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलपेचं पिनहि 'he grinds with oil.' Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्हृष्वातेच यमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah,' when a word denoting 'hand,' in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्तं, करवर्तं or पाणिवर्तं वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand.' So also, तस्मै हस्तग्राह्यं गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राह्यं, करग्राह्यं &c.

Here also, rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्धातौर्धमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self,' 'kinsmen' and 'property.' Thus स्वपोषं पुष्पाति 'he feeds himself', आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पितृपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, स्वेपोषं &c. See I. 1. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणे बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, बंधः, (नामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपदे बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कूटबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुष्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist.' चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरके बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, नामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot.' नयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot,' अटालिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attālikā bandhan*.'

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots.' The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्राजीः पुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्राः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (नामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोः यथासंख्यं नशिवहोर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'puru-sha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनाशं नश्यति = जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes, i. e., dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries', i. e., the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेक्ष्यो भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोहः 'carried by a man.'

ऊर्ध्वं शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वं, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्री,
शामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृ वाचिष्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्द्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ûrdhva,' denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशब्दं शुष्यति वृक्षः = ऊर्ध्वं शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing.' Compare यद्वोर्ध्वशोषतुल्यवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim.' Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च,
(कर्त्री, शामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि चातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also.' That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude.' As घृतनिधायश्च निहितश्च जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept.' सुवर्णनिधायश्च निहितः 'was kept as gold.' The force is that of च; thus घृतनिधायश्च निहितः = घृतनिव निहितः । So also when the object of comparison is as agent; thus, अजनायै नष्टः 'he perished like a goat.' So also ब्रह्मकनायश्च, दन्तनायश्च, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु,
यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलवोरित्येतदारभ्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45. a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (चातुस्रशब्दे प्रत्ययः); See III. 4. 1; so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां, (शमुल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दंश दशने, अस्नाद्वातेः उपपूर्वात्तृतीयायास्त उपपदे शमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'dāns' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samāsa* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus *गुहको-पदंशश्च भुङ्क्ते* or *गुहकोपदंशश्च भुङ्क्ते* 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' Similarly *आर्द्रकोपदंशश्च* or *आर्द्रकोपदंशश्च* 'relished with ginger.'

The words *गुहको* &c. in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb *उपदंश* and 'instruments' of the verb *भुङ्क्ते*.

By the rule of *वाचस्पत्य* (III. 1. 94) the affix *त्वा* (or its substitute *ह्यप्*) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix *शमुल्*. Thus *गुहको-पदंशश्च भुङ्क्ते*.

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां,
च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (शमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्रारमुषघातः, तदर्थानां घातनानुप्रयोगघातुनां समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयायास्त उपपदे शमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus *दग्धोपवातश्च नाः काञ्चयति* 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club.' The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also *दग्धो-पवातश्च*. Similarly with other verbs having the sense of *हिंस*; thus, *दग्धताडश्च* or *दग्धेन ताडश्च*.

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, *शमुल्* will not be employed. Thus *चोरश्च दग्धोपवातश्च*, *गोपालको नाः काञ्चयति* 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows.'

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-
पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडरुधकर्षेभ्यः सप्तम्यायास्त उपपदे चकारात्तृतीयायास्त उपपदे शमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'pīd' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च । Thus पाश्वर्षीड् शेते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पाश्वर्षीड् or पाश्वर्षीड् ।

So also दृष्टोपरोचत् (or दृष्टे उपरोचत् or दृष्टेनोपरोचत्) नाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. चापुपकर्वत् or चापुपकर्वत् or चापुपकर्वत् चानाः संयुजाति । It is Bhvādi कृप् here, and not Tudādi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां, णामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गन्धमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरपपदयोर्द्वातार्षणुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended, i. e., 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशग्रहत् (or केशेषु ग्रहत् or केशैर्ग्रहत्) युज्यन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight'. Similarly दस्तग्रहत् or दस्तेषु ग्रहत् or दस्तेर्ग्रहत्; so also दष्टिग्रहत् 'taking a stick'; लोष्ट्रग्रहत् &c. see II. 2. 21.

प्रमाखे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाखे, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां ; णामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाखे गन्धमानि तृतीयासप्तम्योरपपदयोर्द्वातार्षणुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रमाखत् means 'length or extension'. Thus द्व्यङ्गुलौत्कर्षत् (द्व्यङ्गुले उत्कर्षत् or द्व्यङ्गुलेनोत्कर्षत्) खण्डिकां क्षिणति 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां, (णामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गन्धमानायां अपादाने उपपदे चात्रार्षणुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

The word परीक्षा means 'haste, hurry' Thus गच्छोत्थायं (or गच्छाया उत्थायं) चावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c., but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्ध्रापकर्षं पयः पिबति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture आट्टापकर्षं भक्षयति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting til they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry' ? Observe, आसनाहुत्थाय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix लवा (हयप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गच्छनायां चातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus यद्दिग्ग्राह्यं (or यद्दिग् ग्राह्यं) युज्यन्ते 'they fight, having taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly लोष्ट्रं ग्राह्यं or लोष्ट्रं ग्राह्यं ।

स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्रुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे चातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus अङ्गिरेषं कथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all direction'. अङ्गिनिष्काशं अरुपति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्ग word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुव means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

बहुल् in the following, as *head* is not an अङ्गुल limb:—उत्तिष्ठत्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side.' Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, अमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिणि द्वितीयायां उपपदे धातोर्बहुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected.' Thus उरः प्रतिपेक्ष or उरःपेक्षं युध्यन्ते = कृतस्नानुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom.' So also शिरःपेक्ष or शिरःप्रतिपेक्ष ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast,' 'head' &c.; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दा व्याप्यमानासैव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दा, व्याप्यमान-आसैव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, अमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयायां उपपदे विशिवादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो बहुल् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसैव्यमाने चार्थे गन्धमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान्) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c.). The word आसैवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it.' In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसैवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसैवा to the verb (such as विश् &c.). These two words have the same significance here as the words नित्य and वीर्य in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसैवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशनास्ते, (or गेहं गेहानुप्रवेशनास्ते or गेहानुप्रवेशनानुप्रवेशनास्ते), 'having entered the house, he sits down,' meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down,' or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down.'

Similarly with the root पद्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पद् and स्कन्द । Thus गेहानुप्रपातनास्ते (or गेहं गेहानुप्रपातनस्ते or गेहानुप्रपातननुप्रपातनास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादनास्ते (or गेहं गेहानुप्रपादं or गेहानुप्रपादननुप्रपादश्च); गेहावस्कन्दनास्ते (or गेहं गेहानवस्कन्दं or गेहानवस्कन्दनवस्कन्दश्च) ।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of all or frequency? Observe गेहानुप्रविष्टः भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats.'

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *abhik-hna* was meant; and *al-hikshna* and *aseva* mean the same thing, i. e., 'frequency.' Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *aseva*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix क्वा", that is not so. For क्वा would come by वाऽचरुण rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samasa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus :—"विद्, पद्, पद्, and स्कन्द in composition with an accusative, from the absolutive gerund in अस् (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतितृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृषोः, क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयायां, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया नन्तरयति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे वास्तव्ये वर्तमानाख्या-भर्त्सनादिभिर्यो द्वितीयांतरे कालवाचिभूषणपदेषु यमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions.' Thus द्वादशत्याचं or द्वादशत्याचश्च वाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, i. e. every third day.' So also द्वयद्वर्षं or द्वयद्वं वर्षं वाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink., That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृप्'? Because the affix यमुल् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्वयद्वयोपचय भुङ्क्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats.'

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अहरत्यस्येष्टु गतः ; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going.'

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनचतस्रस्य गाः पाययति 'allowing an interval of eight miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows, i. e., he waters the cows at every eight miles.' Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time,' and hence the affix is रूप् and not णुल् ।

नाम्न्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः,
(द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामग्रहे द्वितीयायां उपपदे आदिशिग्रहेरव चाते णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'adis' and 'grah,' when the word 'nâman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामादेशक'वहे 'he mentions it, telling his name.' नामवाहं नामाहूवति 'he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name).'

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्यानं कृजः क्त्वाणमुत्तो ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्यानं, कृजः, क्त्वा-णमुत्तो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्यानं गम्यमानं करोतेः क्त्वाणमुत्तो भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अयथाभिप्रेताख्यानं means literally 'so denote the expression of that which is not really intended', i. e., a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix क्त्वा may be replaced by रूप्. Thus we have three forms' नीचैः कृत्य, नीचैः क्त्वा, or नीचैः कार. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषल नीचैः कृत्वा, नीचैः कृत्य or नीचैः कारमाचरे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as ब्राह्मण कण्वाते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्चैः कृत्वा, उच्चैः कृत्य, or उच्चैः कारमाचरे" । (See II. 2, 22 for compounding.)

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्चैः कृत्वाऽऽचरे पुत्रस्ते जातः । Here only क्त्वा is added. Why have we repeated क्त्वा in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वाऽचरूप (III. 1. 94), ktvâ would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of samasa or composition, by the application of II. 2. 22. The repetition

of णमुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of *ktvā* and *namul* runs concurrently.

तिर्य्यक्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्य्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृजः, क्त्वा-
णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्य्यक्यपवर्ग उच्यते कृजः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवत्युपवर्गे यन्मयाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri,' when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing.' Thus तिर्य्यक् कृत्य, तिर्य्यक् कृत्वा or तिर्य्यक्कारं गतः = सवाप्य गतः 'having completed, he went away.'

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्य्यक् कृत्वा काष्ठं गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away.' Here णमुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्य्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्य्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्य्यच्. Other examples are: यतदेश्च (V. 3. 5); अदसो नात् (I. 1. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्वाः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये,
कृ भ्वाः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उच्यते करोतेर्भवत्येव चातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'kṛvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' (to make) and 'bhū' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III, 4. 54. The *svāṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्—a *tad līta* affix technically called तचि and तचिल् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied, *i. e.*, क्त्वा and णमुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus भुजतः कृत्य गतः or भुजतः कृत्वा गतः or भुजतः कारंगतः. Similarly पृष्ठतः भूयः विवृति or पृष्ठतः भूत्वा विवृति or पृष्ठतः भावं विवृति.

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe स्रवतः कृत्वा गतः.

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृत्य गतः, मुखी-भूय गतः.

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्यति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth.' With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः.

नाधार्थप्रत्यये च्छयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
चवी-अर्थे, (कृन्वीः, क्त्वा-शमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्थप्रत्यये शब्दे च्छयर्थउपपदे कृन्वीर्धात्वोः तत्वाशमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something with it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of चा are चा, च्यच्, च्वच् and च्वा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः Similarly विना कृत्वा or विनाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । With words formed by चा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विचा or द्वैचं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । But not so in द्विचक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्थे च्छयर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of चा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू. would have taken the affix शमुल् and क्त्वा. But that is not so. Thus the words द्विचक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and चा respectively; as द्विचक् कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः ।

The word अर्थे in नाधार्थे qualifies only the term चा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of चा । The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-शमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णीमशब्दउपपदे भवतेर्धातोः तत्वाशमुलौ भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tūshpim' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णीमभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णीमावच् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वचानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वचि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः,
क्त्वा-यामुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्ष्ण्डउपपदे भवतेर्वातोरानुलोम्ये त्वायामुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhū', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वगुभूय—अन्वगुभूत्वा or अन्वगुभावनास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वगुभूत्वा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकध्वञ्जाग्लाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥
शक-ध्व-ञ्जा-ग्ला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिभूपपदेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा च तु मात्रात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñā' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोति भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ग्लावति—घटते जायते—लभते—प्रक्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विदते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थग्रहण-वस्तिनैव सम्बध्यते अनन्तरत्वात् i. e., the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as शक् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निवेदयितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्येन्नमस्त्यस्यपरादयुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but नच वेदयन्तु इदम् न वा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Aptes Composition.*

पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम्-अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something.'

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness.' Thus लिखितमपि ललाटे प्रोक्षितमुक् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead.' लोकार् अलं दग्धुं हि तत्तपः (Kumâra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds.' अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परिज्ञातं, (Vikramorvasi!2) 'I have power to know every thing.' भोक्तुं प्रवीणः कुशलः पटुर्वा 'skilful in eating.'

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *pariāpti*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुं, अलं भोक्तुं, भोक्तुं पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलम्कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तं भुङ्क्ते । The word यक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as यद्यनेन कर्तुं ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतसंज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like रुयुन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like रुयुल् and दृक् &c. (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; ग्राही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks.'

भव्यगेयप्रवचनायोपस्थानीयजन्याप्यव्यपत्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ पठ ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-आव्य-आप्तपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya,' 'geya,' 'pravachaniya,'

'upasthāniya,' 'janya,' 'āplāvya' and 'āpātya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kṛitya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus जन्म may mean 'existed,' 'existence,' or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer,' 'a song,' or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains,' 'what ought to be explained,' or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon,' 'what ought to be waited upon or served,' or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्म = जायतेऽसौ or जन्मननेन means 'one who gives birth, i. e., a father,' 'birth' or 'what is born'; आप्लाव्य = आप्लावतेऽसौ or आप्लाव्यननेन means 'who immerses,' one 'immersing,' or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपातस्वसौ or आपात्यननेन means 'what falls upon,' 'falling upon,' or 'what ought to fall upon.' Thus गेया जाणवकः सान्नि 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गेयानि जाणवकेन सानानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्व 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुवा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽप्युपेयासी गुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानी- शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil.'

लः कर्मणि च भावे आकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, आकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकारः कर्मलिकारके लवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, आकर्मकेभ्यो चातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69 The tense-affixes called 'ल' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c.; ल is the common element of them all; and these affixes when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल. By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent.'

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गम्बते द्यावो देवदेव 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गम्बते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गच्छ being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action.' In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आसते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आसते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action." The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यकखलर्याः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क-
खलर्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्तृयोः कृत्यसंबन्धाः कलकायोरपि प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal,' have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act,' and कर्त्तृ, 'object.' The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः खीदनी भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you.' Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down.' Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त खीदनी भवता 'the rice is eaten by you.' Here क्त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly व may be used in denoting the mere act; आशितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down.'

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल् (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्कः कठो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty.' In the following examples the affixes denote the act. ईषदाहयभव भवता and स्वाहयभव भवता।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya* the *kta* and the *khalartha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action.'

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि,
क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः च कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतश्च देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted, Similarly प्रयुक्तं श्रोतुं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रयुक्तं श्रोतुं देवदत्तेन (object); प्रयुक्तं देवदत्तेन (act),

गत्यर्थकर्मकस्त्रिषशीङ्स्यासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ प-
दानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-स्त्रिष-शीङ्-स्या-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च,
(क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः च कर्तरि भवति, चकारादाया-
प्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślish' (to embrace), 'śī' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'âs' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देव-
दत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs denote the agent and the act only; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus ग्लानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), ग्लानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), आसितं भवता (object); उपरिखट्टो गुरुश्च भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपरिखट्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपरिखट्टस् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुश्च भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुश्च भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपासितो गुरुश्च भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनुषितो गुरुश्च भवान् (agent), अनुषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनुषितं भवता (act); अनुजातो नाखवको नाखविकाश्च (agent), अनुजातो नाखवकेन नाखविका (object), अनुजातं नाखवकेन (act); आदतो वृक्षो भवता (object), आदतं भवता (act); अनुजीर्षो वृक्षो देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्षो वृक्षो देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्षं देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs रिख् &c. become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोघ्नौ संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोघ्नौ, संप्रदाने

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोघ्नौ शब्दौ संप्रदाने कारके निपात्येते ॥

73. The word 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाच् 'to give' by adding the affix कच् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word *goghna* which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोघ्नः = तस्मै दातुं गं घ्नन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपात्यन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhîma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unādi* affixes. Thus भी + नक् = भीन (Un. I. 145, 148); भी + पुक् + नक् = भीन (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unādi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words :—भीनः, भीन्तः, भयानकः (Un. III. 82), वधः, वधः,

(Un. I. 7), भूमिः (Un. IV. 45), रजः (Un. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्रन्दनः, समुद्रः, लुषः, or लुवः (Un. II. 61), लृक् (Un. II. 62) लक्षतिः ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥७५॥ पदानि ॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उणादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः यदास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारके भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recipient and ablation.

The *Unādi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampradāna* also. For had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apādna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampardāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽद्यै = कृषिः (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति = तन्तुः Un. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out', वृत्तमिति वर्तते (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरित = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्ययाप्राप्तं च ॥ ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु, गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितस् तेन 'sitting by him (act); इदमेषामासितश्च 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामश्च 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेषां यातश्च 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त आदतो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त आदतं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तश्च (abstract); इदमेषां भुक्तश्च location); कथं भुक्ताग्राहणोः । पीता गायः । The आ in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of भित्तु (IV. 2. 85) भुक्तेषामस्ति or पीतेषामस्ति ।

लस्य ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येत्ययमधिकारः, यदि कर्म्मननुक्रान्तिप्रधानो लस्येत्येवं बहुदितव्यश्च ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affixes which we shall announce hereafter.

Thus sūtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhikāra* sūtra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ल, the स in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लट् present, लिट् perfect, लृट् first future, लुट् second future, लोट् imperative लेट् Vedic subjunctive, लङ् imperfect, लिङ् potential and benedictive, लुङ् aorist, लृङ् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ट्, and four have indicatory ङ् ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus :—In the following sūtras the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e., the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल'.

तिप्सक्तिप्यस्यमिड्वस्मस्तातामूक्तयासायाम्ध्वमिड्वहिसहिङ्
॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-क्ति-तिप्-थस्-थ-निप्-वस्-नस्-त-आताम्-क्त-
यास्-आयाम्-ध्वम्-इट्-वहि-महिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्य तिबादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—'tip,' 'tas,' 'jhi'; 'sip,' 'thas,' 'tha-,' 'mip,' 'vas,' 'mas'; 'ta,' 'âtâm,' 'jha'; 'thâs,' 'âthâm,' 'dhvam'; 'it,' 'vahi,' mahin.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II. 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लट् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration

The प in तिप्, सिप् and निप् is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ट् in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽङ् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ् in महिङ् for forming the *Pratyāhāra* तिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—लट् ।

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.			
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्		य	वहे	महे
2nd. "	सि	थस्	थ		से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. "	ति	तस्	अन्ति		ते	आति	मन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—अद् ।

Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual..	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अव्	व	व	व	वहि	वहि
2nd. "	व	तव्	त	वाव्	आयाव्	वव्व्
3rd. "	व	ताव्	अव्	त	आताव्	अन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विचिलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	वाव्	याव	याव	हैव	हैवहि	हैवहि
2nd. "	वाव्	यातव्	यात	हैयाव्	हैयायाव्	हैव्व्
3rd. "	याव्	याताव्	युव्	हैत	हैयाताव्	हैव्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

1st. pers.	आनि	आव	आन	रे	आवहे	आनहे
2nd. "	हि	वव्	त	वव	आयाव्	वव्व्
3rd. "	तु	वान	अव्तु	ताव्	आताव्	अन्ताव्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—सिट् ।

1st. pers.	अ	व	व	व	वहे	वहे
2nd. "	य	अयुव्	अ	वे	अःये	व्वे
3rd. "	अ	अतुव्	उव्	व	आते	वरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लुट् ।

1st. pers.	तास्मि	तास्वव्	तास्मव्	ताहे	तास्वहे	तास्महे
2nd. "	तासि	तास्यव्	तास्य	तासे	तासाथे	ताव्वे
3rd. "	ता	तारो	तारव्	ता	तारो	तारव्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लुट् ।

1st. pers.	स्यामि	स्यावव्	स्यामव्	स्ये	स्यावहे	स्यामहे
2nd. "	स्यसि	स्यथव्	स्यथ	स्यसे	स्यथे	स्यव्वे
3rd. "	स्यति	स्यतव्	स्यन्ति	स्यते	स्येते	स्यन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लुङ् ।

1st. pers.	वव्	व	व	सि	ववहि	ववहि
2nd. "	वीव्	ववव्	व	व्याव्	वायाव्	वव्व्
3rd. "	वीव	वताव्	वुव्	व	वाताव्	व

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—आशीर्लिङ् ।

1st. pers.	यावव्व्	यावव	यावम	वीय	वीयहि	वीयहि
2nd. "	याव्	यास्तव्	यास्त	वीय्ताव्	वीयास्तव्	वीयव्व्
3rd. "	याव्	यास्ताव्	यावुव्	वीय	वीयास्ताव्	वीयव्

CONDITIONAL.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	स्यव्	स्याव	स्याम	स्ये	स्यावहि	स्यामहि
2nd. "	स्यव्	स्यथव्	स्यथ	स्यथाव्	स्येथाव्	स्यव्वव्व्
3rd. "	स्यव्	स्यताव्	स्यव्	स्यत	स्येताव्	स्यन्त

दित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दितः, आत्मनेपदा-
नाम्, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो लकारस्य स्थाने आत्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 't.'

The ल or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ट are six:—लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लेट् । In these tenses the final portion called दित of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes ते, आताच् becomes आते, क becomes के &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes जानच्, and जानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचनानः, यजमानः ? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sutra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the pratyâhâra तिङ् ।

यासस्वे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ यासः, से, (लस्य, दितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो लकारस्य यस्यास्तस्व षेयम् आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thâs' in those tenses that have an indicatory 't.'

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sutra, the Atmanepada याच् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, वेचिसे, पक्तासे, पच्यसे ।

लिटस्तफ्योरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, त-फ्योः, एश्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशयोस्तफ्योर्यथासंख्येश्इरेच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

81. The words 'es' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The ए of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus वेचे, वेचाते वेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां शल्लुसुस्थलथुसशाल्वनाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मै-
पदानां, शल्-अतुस्-उस्-थल्-अथुस्-अ-शल्-व-नाः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं तिङादीनां शलादयो भवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

Sing	nal (अ)	thal (य)	nal (अ)
Dual.	atus (अतुः)	athus (अथुः)	va (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory ल् in लल्ल and लल्ल is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory ल् is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25.) Thus पचाच, वेचतुः, वेचुः, वेचिय or पचकृय, वेचयुः, वेच, पचाच or पचच, वेचिव वेचिन ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, लल्लतुस्यल्लथुसल्लवर्माः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद जाने, अस्माद्वातोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां ललादयो नव विचक्ष्ये-
नादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid.'

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्थ or वेत्थि	वेद or वेद्मि
Dual.	विदतुः or वित्तः	विदथुः or वित्थः	विद्म or विद्मः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विद्म or विद्मः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, लल्लतुस्यल्लथु, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्य लटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पञ्चैव ललादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्तन्निर्णयेन च ब्रु व आहश्चद आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brû' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'âha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brû.'

Thus आह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्थ thou sayst'; आहथुः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रु as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or ब्रुवीति	आत्थ or ब्रुवीथि	ब्रुवीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रुवः	आहथुः or ब्रुथः	ब्रुवः
Plural.	आहु or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रुथ	ब्रुमः

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रुवः in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लङ्वत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिदेश सूत्रा; as in the लङ् there are the affixes लार्, लृत्, ल, ल and ल, so also in the लोट् । Thus पचतार्, पचतृ, पचत, पचाव, पचाव ।

Q.—If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अद्, आद्, or the substitution of जुप् for णि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशानामि कारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयोऽव्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes दु, अन्ति becomes अन्दु as have already been given in the above table.

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट् । In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (व्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्दु ।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and णि only, and does not apply to चि to which the next sūtra applies.

सेर्हयपिच ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य सेर्हि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for चिप् would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प ।

Thus जुनीहि पुनीहि, राधुहि, तस्युहि; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it कित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेर्हयपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशरच्छन्दसि विषये द्विगदो वाऽपि भवति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'

The result is that in the Ohandas the second person singular of लोट् has two forms as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणीहि; पुयुचि or पुयोचि, चि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अग्नं नय सु प्रसीरायेऽस्य स्नान्मिखाग्निदेव ययूनानिचिद्वान् ।

यु योच्यस्नञ्जु हुराणसेनोभूयिहाग्ने नमऽहस्तिमिषेन ॥

—Rig 1. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda. 40. 16.

मेनिः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्वादेशस्य मेनिरादेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of *र* into *व*, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि ।

आमेतः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य आनिस्त्वयादेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'âm' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix *र*. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for *र* in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पठेताम्, पचन्ताम् ।

सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पठ ॥ स-वाभ्यां, व-अमौ, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथातत्त्वं च आम् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v' is substituted 'am' in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for *वे* we have *व*, and for *व्वे* we have *व्वम्*; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचव्वस् ।

आहुत्तमस्य पिठ्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुंसस्य आह्वानो भवति च ओत्तमपुंसः पिठ्वति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'ât' is the augment of the affixes the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicative 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आन । Thus करवाणि, करवाय, करवान; करवे, करवावहे, करवानहे ।

एत ऐ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ऐः, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटुत्तमसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवे, करवावहे, करवानहे ।

But the *र* resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into *रे*. Thus पचाय + इदम् = पचावेदम्, पचाम + इदम् = पचामेदम् । Here, no doubt, the *र* belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of *च* of *च* and *च*. But this is not to be changed into *रे* on the maxim that this *र* is the result of a *वहिरङ्ग* rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhāṣhā, अविद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽहाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽहाटौवागमौ भवतः पर्यायेभः ॥

94. The augments 'aṭ' and 'āṭ' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुप् + विप् + अट् + त् = जौविषत्; तारिषत्; चन्दिषत्; similarly पत् + आट् + वि = पयावि; ज्याववाति । See III. 1. 34 for the addition of विप् in one above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् चम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'ā' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयेते, मन्त्रयेये, करयेते, करयेये । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् चम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा रेकारादेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यमन्त्रो विधिरपेक्षते । आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e' in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus ग्रये, ईये, &c. in the following examples:—ग्रहाहानि ग्रये, अहमेव पशुनाभीये, नदया एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्ते, नद्वेकत्यान्येव वः पात्रावयुञ्ज्यान्ते । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as वन्न क्व च ते मनो दधत् दधत्तत्तरत् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्त्रयेते, मन्त्रयेये ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् चम्बन्धिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वायुवृत्तेः परे अवयवमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जौविषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). चन्दिषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पयाति विदुह (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उदधिं ज्याववाति । The ए of अट्, बहि and बहि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवान् or करवानः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं डितः॥९९॥प०॥ नित्यं, डितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'n.'

The tense-affixes having indicatory स् are four, namely, लङ्, लङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचान् । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvritti of the word 'optionally.'

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (डितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डितलकारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Parasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'n.'

Thus, for ति we have त्, for सि we have स्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvritti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपचासीत्, but अपचावहि and अपचानहि ।

तस्यस्यनिपां तान्तंतानः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-य-भिषाम्, तां-तं-त-आमः, (डितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डितलकारसम्बन्धिनं चतुर्णां ययासंख्यं तानादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām,' 'tam,' 'ta' and 'âm' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas,' 'thas,' 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'n.'

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचतस्, अपचतस्, अपचत, अपचस्, अपाक्तस्, अपाक्तस्, अपाक्त, अपाचस् ।

लिङ्स्त्रीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, स्त्रीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां स्त्रीयुडागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'sīyut'.

The इ of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The उ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the इ of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the य् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेयाताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरत् । In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पसीट, पसीयास्ताम् पसीरत् ।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो ङिच् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मै-पदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदविषयस्य लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, ङिच् ॥

103. When the Parasīnaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yāsuṭ' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'i'.

The debars सीयुट्; the उट् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is याच् . All augments being anudātta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udātta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicatory इ, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory इ, the repetition of the word ङित् in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāṣhā "that the इ belonging to ल does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory इ (लकाराश्रयङित्त्वादेशानां न भवति). In the Potential, the इ of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 103 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युच् । For the Benedictive लिङ् the following sūtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिङः, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किद्वद्वति ॥

104. The augment 'yāsuṭ' comes after that 'liṇ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented; and the substitutes of this 'liṇ' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary

being already लिङ् by the last rule. लिङ् and लिङ् are equal in prohibiting गुण and वृद्धि, but लिङ् is distinguished from लिङ् inasmuch as लिङ् causes the गुण of वाच् (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इच्छात् इच्छास्तात्, इच्छाद्, and जानयात्. जानयास्तात् and जानयाद्. In the Potential, वच्चात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, उच्छात् (vocalisation). So also जानयात् in the Potential.

अस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, रन्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्व लिङादेशस्य रन्निट्यवनादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The ञ् in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त (VII. 1. 3.), but in लिङ्, it is replaced by रन्. Thus वचेरन्, वजेरन्, वृषीरन्.

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदित्यवनादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus वचेय, वजेय, वृषीय, इषीय.

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अट् is used, and the final ट् belongs to the विभक्ति, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this ट् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This ट् is not any portion or member of the substitute अट्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The अट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment अट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य. A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes; whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संवर्धनोत्कारयकारयोः सुडाग्नौ भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes or the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and थ् are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and थ् are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्.

The augment सीयुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगन्ती, but in the case of जुह्, लिङ् is not the आगन्ती, but त् and च are the आगन्ती. The scope of चीयुट् and जुह् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word ति is used; the ह् of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीट्, कृषीयास्तत् कृषीरत्, कृषीष्टाः, कृषीयास्त्यात्. In the Potential, the ह् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

भेजुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भेः, जुस्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य भेजुस् आदेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अग्न (VII. 1. 3); thus चवेयुः, यजेयुः ।

सिज्भ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः, च, (भेजुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संज्ञकेभ्यो वेत्तेश्चोत्तरस्य जुषादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicative 'ñ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' when it comes after an Aorist in 'sieh,' or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having ह् other than that of लिङ् namely, the लङ् and लुङ् ।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुह्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच्. The word इतिः of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लङ्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षः, अहार्षः । Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अविभयुः, अजिह्वयुः, अजागवः । In the case of विद्, we have अविदः ।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (भेजुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच आकारान्ताच्च परस्य भेजुसादेशो भवति ॥

110 (When 'sieh' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā.'

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अहुः, अयुः, अरयुः । In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुह् is the substitute of लि where the verbs end in long आ. In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुह् was to replace लि ।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुच् does not replace क् in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, चिच् is elided after the verb ह् but as ह् does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुच्. Thus, अयुवच्. Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though चिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62); जुच् would have replaced क्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the चिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुच् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अहासुः.

लङः शाकटायनस्य ॥१११॥ पदानि॥ लङः, शाकटायनस्य, (भेः; जुच्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्ताहुत्तरस्य लङादेशस्य भेजुंसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sâkatâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi' in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'â'.

Thus अयुः, अयुः. In the alternative, we have अयाच् and अवाच्.

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to क्तिव tenses, of which जुच् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism for no other क्तिव tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ् as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated *like* लङ्. Thus लोट् is treated *like* लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the क्ति of लोट् will not be changed into जुच् by III. 4. 109. Thus बिभ्यतु, जायतु विदस्त. The word च has been used in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥११२॥ पदानि॥ द्विषः, च, (लङः, शाकटायनस्य, भेजुंस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङादेशस्य भेजुंसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sâkatâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi' in the Imperfect after the verb 'dviṣ' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः. But according to others, अद्विषच्.

तिङ्शितसार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's' are called 'sârvadhâtuka.'

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वयित्ति, रोदिति, पचमानः, पयमानः. क्तिट् and आशीर्लिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ् शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्देन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e., the affixes other than 'tin,' and those with an indicatory 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ardhadhātuka.'

Thus the affixes वृ, वृश्, लब्धश्च &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—लविता, लवितुश्च, रुवितव्यश्च । Here the augment इट् is added because of these affixes being called *ardhadhātuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word चातोः whose anuvritti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sārvadhātuka* and *ardhadhātuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix स्याच् when added to the noun लू, is not called an *ardhadhātuka* affix, and therefore we have लूस्याच्, लूभिः &c. Had these affixes been *ardhadhātuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes त्व and वा in the words वृद्धत्वं and वृद्धता are not *ardhadhātuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5 the affix च् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिञ् and क्त् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word चातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this च् is not called *ardhadhātuka*, and does not take the augment इट्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्तिङार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ardhadhātuka.'

This debars them from being called *sārvadhātuka* and, being *ardhadhātuka*, some of them take the augment इट्; as वेचिथ, शेकिथ । Moreover by their being *ardhadhātuka* they do not admit of the Vikaranas शप् &c.

So from स्तौ (स्तौ, VI. 1. 45) we have जस्तौ; here the आ is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as *ardhadhātuka*; similarly चस्तौ from स्तौ ।

लिङाशिचि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिचि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिचि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'lin' are called 'ardhadhātuka', i. e., the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ardhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sārvadhātuka*. Being *ardhadhātuka* they take the augment इट्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaranas यच् &c. Thus from the root कृ 'to cut,' we have in the आशीर्लिङ्, लविरीष्ट; and from the root पू 'to purify,' पविरीष्ट. But in the विशिष्टिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaranas &c. as लुनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

छन्दसुभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकसार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sârvadhâtuka' and 'ârdhadhâtuka' is not always maintained; and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes. Sometimes the लिङ् and णिङ् are treated as if they were *ârdhadhâtuka*. Thus वर्चन्तु त्वा सुहृत्तयः । Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ârdhadhâtuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिङ् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्चयन्तु । Sometimes *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes are treated like *sârvadhâtuka* affixes; as विशृण्वरे; here the affixes of the लिट् are treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and so there is the Vikarana रुङ् and the उ is changed into व । Thus, वि + शृ + रुङ् + इरे = वि + शृ + उ + इरे (III. 1. 74) = वि + शृ + व् + इरे (VI. 4. 87) = विशृण्वरे । Similarly, सुन्विरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्येयात् यत्नं दृढन्तम् । Here, by treating the affix as *sârvadhâtuka*, there is elision of च in the लिङ् VII. 2. 79, and by treating it again as *ârdhadhâtuka*, the आ of स्या is changed into व । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and there is no substitution of भू for ऋ as required by II. 4. 52.

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST:

ङष्वाप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङी-आप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित् ऊर्ध्वमुत्क्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्ते ङर्चाप्प्रातिपदिकादित्येवं सहेतित्वम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes ङी, or आप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् ॥ The term आप् is the common name for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and णाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Tad-dhita affix. The word ङष्वाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sūtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhātu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhātu); and such bases remaining are prātipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sūtra, when these prātipadika &c. are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after ?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sūtra arose from the following considerations: that the word *उष्वाप् प्रतिपदिकान्* should qualify the words 'वृद्ध' 'अवृद्ध,' 'the letter अ,' 'अनुवृत्तादि,' and 'द्वयम्,' wherever used in the following sūtras. So that, where a rule says: "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prātipadika, or which ends with 'ni' or 'āp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares:—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified *by the first of the words in construction.*" Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix *फिन्* is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तस्यापत्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'āmraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्,' because the word 'jñānām' the genitive plural of 'jñā', is a Vṛiddha word? Certainly not, because the word 'prātipadikāt' must be read into this sūtra IV. 1. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prātipadika of 'jñānām' is 'jñā', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñā' is a vṛiddham in its prātipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञयो ब्राह्मणोरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brāhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prātipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अवृद्ध' (sūtra IV. 1. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word *अन्* in Sūtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix *इम्* is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so; then the affix 'इम्' will apply only to the word 'दक्षस्य' in 'दक्षस्यापत्यम्' but will not apply to the words 'दक्षयोः', or 'दक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'दक्षयोरपत्यम्' or 'दक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इम्' applies to all these three words,

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुदात्तदिः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अम्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इच्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'स्वचः' which in construction are anudâttâdi as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'स्वचो विकारः' (VI. 1. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, स्वच्) are udâttâdi. And conversely, the affix 'अम्' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is udâttâdi, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is anudâttâdi.

(5). Similarly the word 'व्यचः' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'उन्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its prâtipadika state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word घटेन in the phrase 'घटेन तरति,' while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'स्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'स्वचा तरति.' But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'hy-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ:—"A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender."?

A. Not so. The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the Sûtra itself. In other words, "this paribhâshâ is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sûtra) or denotes a particular prâtipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, बलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine: but not so every-where. Moreover the words, डी, आप् have been employed in the Sûtra, in order to make the Taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'. After these words we can apply the Taddhita affix तरप्: as 'कालितरा', 'हरिणितरा', 'खट्वातरा', and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'hy-âp' in the Sûtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितर ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ण्य-अप् ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ण्य-अप्, it is shown that first the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौद्गुणभ्यामिस्डेभ्याभ्यस्डसिभ्याभ्यस्डसोसामङ्गोस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम्-औद्-गस्, दा-भ्यां-भिस्, डे-भ्यां-भ्यस्, डसि-भ्यां-भ्यस्,
डस् ओस्-आम्, डि-ओस्-सुप् (ड्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ड्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations डी or आप्, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭā (ā)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	ne (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	ṇasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	ṇas (as)	os	ām
7th.	ni (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like ङ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final ण् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by डीप्, as, कुमारी ; by डीप् as, गौरी ; by डीन् as राज्ञी ; by दाप् as खड़ा ; by दाप् as बहुराजा ; and by चाप् as कारीष-गन्ध्या ; and lastly to a prātipadika, as, वृषद् ।

कुमारी ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्याः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीषु

खट्वा ।

1st	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वाया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायाः	खट्वयोः	खट्वाणाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वयोः	खट्वासु

इषद् ।

1st	इषद्	इषदौ	इषदः
2nd	इषदम्	इषदौ	इषदः
3rd	इषदा	इषद्भ्याम्	इषदाभिः
4th	इषदे	इषद्भ्याम्	इषद्भ्यः
5th	इषदः	इषद्भ्याम्	इषद्भ्यः
6th	इषदः	इषदोः	इषदां
7th	इषदि	इषदोः	इषदसु

The words गौरी and शार्ङ्गरी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुराजा and कारीषगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । वदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तदेदितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the first sūtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-आप्'; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् (स्त्रियाम् ड्याप् ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudatta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अन् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory न् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mātra should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prātīpadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालपा or शुभया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभयाः कीलालपाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brāhmanī'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|---------|-------|----------|--------|
| 1. अज | अजा | 2. एडक | एडका | 3. कोकिल | कोकिला |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. अश्व | अश्वा | 6. मूषिक | मूषिका |

N. B. The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nīsh' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होड | होडा | 9. पाक | पाका |
| 10. वत्स | वत्सा | 11. मन्द | मन्दा | 12. विलात | विलाता |

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ḍīp' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix लुट्, and being दिङ्, would have taken ḍīp (IV. 1. 15) but for this sūtra.

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|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| 15. संफल, | संफला; | 16. भस्त्रफल; | भस्त्रफला; |
| 17. अजिनफल, | अजिनफला; | 18. शणफल, | शणफला; |
| 19. पिण्डफल, | पिण्डफला; | 20. विफल, | विफला; |

N. B. The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प, | सत्पुष्पा; | 22. प्राक्पुष्प, | प्राक्पुष्पा; |
| 23. काण्डपुष्प, | काण्डपुष्पा; | 24. प्रान्तपुष्प | प्रान्तपुष्पा; |
| 25. शतपुष्प, | शतपुष्पा; | 26. एकपुष्प, | एकपुष्पा; |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken णिष् by IV. I. 64.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

B. N. But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्रा when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्रा 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'.

The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'दाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhī given in I. I. 72, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhī cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim:—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra'. This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhī is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती

28. कुंष् कुंचा 29. उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30. देवविश्व देवविशा

N. B. The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'दाप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

B. N. The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'णिष्' by IV. I. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle ना, would have otherwise taken 'णिष्' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योऽङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, (स्त्रियाम् ङ्याप्सा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो नकारान्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ह् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीप् and ङीर्; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

'affixes; the real affix is ई। Thus, कर्तृ—f. कर्त्री; कर्त—f. कर्त्री; कर्त्तु—f. कर्त्तुनी; कर्त्तु—f. कर्त्तुनी ॥

उगितः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग इत् अत्रसंभवति यथा कर्त्तुयित् तदुगित्कृत्यकृतं, तदन्तात् स्त्रियां ऊीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धातोर्गुणितः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अंशते भोपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ऋ or लृ) the affix ऊीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ऋ and लृ। Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित्। That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prātipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes कर्त्तु and कर्त्तु, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित् as लृ meaning लृ in VI. 4. 127, ("लृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base-ending in अर्धत् &c")

Thus, भवतु 'honored' sir.—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचत् (formed by adding कर्त्तु III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the लुक् comes by VII. 1. 82. So also वजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्धत् अर्धती 'a mare'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots संलृ 'to fall down', अलृ 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots, the prātipadikas like उल्लासत् and पर्णधत्, (III. 2. 76). The उल्लासत् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णधत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding ऊीप्।

Vart.—The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix ऊीप्। As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उदीची ॥

वनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनः, र, च, (स्त्रियां ऊीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वनन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ऊीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ऐक्यान्तादेशः।

वार्तिकम् ॥ वनो न ह्यः ॥

7. The affix 'ऊीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable वन्, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Upādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; धीवन् f. धीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman'; रात्रन् f. रात्रिनी 'night' (धृ+वनिप् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light. So also पत्रोक्तवरी ॥

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ड्वनिप्, (III. 2. 103) ड्वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Vārti:—If the affix वन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in हश्, (a letter of हश् pratyāhāṣa), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix डीप् nor the change of न् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुधा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhman brother or sister in arms'. In शर्वन् the वन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of हश् class, but as वन् is not ordained to be applied to शर् but to वृ, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vārtika does not apply to such a case. Hence शर्वरी ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pād.'

The word पाद् becomes पाड् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

टावृत्ति ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टाप्, ऋचि, (स्त्रियां पादः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debarb डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarters'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattā (a woman) having two feet'.

न षट् स्वस्नादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, षट्, स्वस्नादिभ्यः, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट् संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वस्व' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brāhmaṇi ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrâdi class:—स्वसा 'a sister', वृहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', ज्ञाता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः (डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्ताव्यातिपदिकान् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix डीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prâtipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix डीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus हामन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows:—I. S. वामा; d. वामानौ, pl. वामानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇādi IV. 144) in the words हामन् (हो + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhāṣa:—अनिनसमन ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sūtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमाहमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त्रन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix डीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुषर्वन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुषर्वा, सुषर्वाणौ, सुषर्वाणः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्माणौ and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penultimate अ of वन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrīhi compounds"? Because after any other compounds, this rule will not apply. As आतराजन् is an Avyayibhāva compound, its feminine will be अतिराजी ॥

डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, (मनः अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्या मनन्ताव्यातिपदिकानन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डाप्, the letter 'ड' indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the टि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन् + डाप् = पाम् + आ = पामा, This being an optional rule we have I. 5 पामा *d*, पामे or पामानौ, *pl*, पामाः or पामानः ; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say "optionally" ? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of डीप् are optional : we may apply the affix डाप् instead. As :— बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी ; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas'. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2. 43). Thus the next sūtra declares "the affix णिप् is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory इ, & c." Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix इ (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by डीप् as कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—/ मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43); then they will not take the affix डीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35) ; therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take डीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा or बहुमद्रचरा मधुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, "the affix णिप् is added after words denoting jāti" as, कुक्कुडी; शुकरी ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, 'ñish' will not be added : as, बहुकुक्कुडा बहुशुकरा मधुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकारी, in as much as the second member here is pradhāna : the word 'kumbha-kāra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply डीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sūtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

दिङ्ढाणञ्द्वयसञ्जद्वयमात्रचतयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्करणः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
दित्-ठ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसञ्-द्वयच-मात्रच-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्-करणः (अतः स्त्रिया-
म डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्दिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ नञ्प्रतीककश्च्युत्तरुणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix डीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory द, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ्, or द्वयसञ्, or द्वयच, or मात्रच, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛtti from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debar the affix दाप् of IV. 1. 4 We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मरुचर f., मरुचरी (चर+ई=चर्+ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by द (III. 2. 16). of which द is indicatory.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix डीप् added after the words पचमान्, formed by the affix णानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लट् ; and because लट् has an indicatory द, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicatory द (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लट् is not दित् as it has two indicatory letters, ल् and द्.'

Q. If that be so, affixes like ह्युद् should also be called no दित् affixes, as they have also two indicatory letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ह्युद् be not regarded दित्, then the indicatory द् of ह्युद् finds no scope any where: as the indicatory द् of लट् has its scope in sūtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान् will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-

catory इ of augments will not cause the application of the affix डीप् ; thus पठिता विद्या ॥ Here the feminine of पठिता is formed by आ and not इ. This is indicated by sūtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment तुद् is added to the affixes दुष and दुषल्". If the इ of तुद् could have made the affix दिन् for the purposes of this present sūtra ; the anubandha इ had been unnecessarily added to the affixes दु and दुल् in the above.

(2) Of words ending in इ we have, म, सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f. वेनतेयी. The इ stands for the affix इक् ; and it is replaced by एङ् (VII. 1. 2). Thus सुपर्णा + इक् (IV. 1. 120) = सुपर्णा + एङ् = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely इ without any indicative letters ; and denoting the feminine ; the only affix, as said above, is इक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is imployed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the इ of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less इ of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in अण्, we have already said that the affix अण् here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'an'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'an' we have कुम्भकार and नगरकार (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is कुम्भकारी and नगरकारी ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'an' we have औपगव (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is औपगवी ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix ण are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by ण are not so treated, as शण्डा, मौष्टा (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औदवान, f. औदवानी. (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix डीप् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix in the present sūtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix डीप् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 ; that is even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ṇish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes इयसच्, इयस्, and माचच् are added by V. 2. 37 ; as, ऊरुइयसी, ऊरुइसी, ऊरुमाची 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जानुइयसी, जानुइसी, जानुमाची

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five' so also इक्षतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in इक् (IV. 4. 1) as, भाषिकी 'a female dicer', शालाकिकी. The इ is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in इञ् (V. 1. 18) : as, लावणिकी 'elegant'. The affixes इक् and इञ् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix इन् &c. For had the word इ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes इक्, इन् and इञ्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कश् (III. 2. 60) as, बाढ़शी, ताढ़शी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इत्तरी 'swift',

नश्चरी ॥

Vart.—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नश्च and स्तश्च (IV. 1. 87) and ईकृ (IV. 4. 59) and खयुन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तरुण and तलुन 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', पौत्सी 'a male', शान्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यकरणी 'enriching'; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'.

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यग्रहणं कतव्यम् ॥

16. The affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + डीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

Vart.—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष्ट् of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वेष्ट्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛtti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां स्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, स्फः, तद्धितः, (यञः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन यञन्तात् स्त्रियां स्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix स्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'ñish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'ñish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix स्फ is replaced by the substitute आयन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + स्फ + डीप् = गार्ग्यायनी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sūtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛtti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—‘the affix चाप् comes after आवञ्च’ ॥ Here आवञ्च ends in यञ्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word आवञ्च would have taken the affix णिपः IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix ‘shpha’ will be added. Thus आवञ्चायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः,
(यञः स्त्रियांष्फ)

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कृतपयन्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्यया भवति ॥

18. The affix ‘shpha’ is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with ‘lohita’ and ending with ‘kata’, when they take the affix yan.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105). The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कृत refers to the independent prātipadika कृत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कपि, and not to the word कुरुकत of the same class, where the word कृत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहिस्थायनी, शांतिस्थायनी बाधस्थायनी ॥

Kārikā कण्वास्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतादुत्तर इष्यते ।

पूर्वोत्तरो तदन्तादी ष्फाणौ तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and अण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapāṭha after the word कण्व (See IV. 1. 105) should be regarded as if it stood immediately before कण्व and after कृत ॥ Thus we have शाकल्यायनी (with ष्फ), and शकलाः with अण्, meaning शाकल्यस्थेने छात्राः ‘the pupils of Sākalya’.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यांच ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्; च, (स्त्रियांष्फ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोरसुरेहपसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix ‘shpha’ is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by दाप् (IV. 1. 4), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक, and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप (IV. 1. 15), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायना, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you explain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sūtra IV. 3. 120.

Vart.—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इङ् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, 'āsuri' should form its further derivative (called also शापिक) by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus आसुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, (स्त्रियां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यत्प्रातिपदिकं भुत्वावर्त्तते ततः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early' age? Observe स्यविरा 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vart.—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive' of not old age? Thus वधूदी 'a young woman', चिरण्दी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उत्तानशया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus दशपुली, पञ्चपुली ॥ But we find त्रिकला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-
विस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, (डीप् द्विगोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणान्ताद् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure; or in 'bista', 'āchita', and 'kambalya'.

This debarb 'ñip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolaḥs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ढेम् (V. 1. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by दाप्, thus, पञ्चश्वा 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sūtra by the word 'parimāṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 *Vart.*) So also द्विशता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिशता ॥ So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, व्याचिता, त्र्याचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe व्याद्वी, त्र्याद्वी "a female purchased for two or three ādhaka". Here ādhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ñip' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also दशाश्वी ।

काण्डान्ताद् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्ताद्, क्षेत्रे, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डशब्दान्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vidrtiku* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sūtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'nīp' but by दाप्; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra applies to it; the present sūtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्,
(द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनडीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषशब्दस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samāhāra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीप् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधसः, डीप् (स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् शब्दान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डो-धस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13, ante; the present sūtra enjoins डीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्ठी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom'; ब्रदोष्ठी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्रा-तायाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sûtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोषा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे डीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, डीप् (बहुव्रीहे रुधसः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेरव्ययादेः बहुव्रीहेरुधसस्यन्तान्तात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

-26. The affix डीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'nip', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'nîsh'. Thus द्वी+ऊधस्+अनङ्+डीप् (V. 4. 131)=द्व्यूधी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूधी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्यूधी 'many-uddered'; निर्यूधी 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधाधी and त्रिविधाधी, in which the words 'dvividha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेर्दामहायनान्ताद्वायनान्ताच्च स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix डीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of डीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining nip optionally: the present sûtra ordains nip to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विदानी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिदानी ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long णा by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायनी; चतुर्हायनी ॥

Vârt:—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no nip here:—द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ण; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ण and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अ-
न्यतरस्यां (बहुव्रीहे डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्तो यो बहुव्रीहरूपधालोपो तस्मादन्यतरस्यां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix डीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन्; in applying णिप्, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when णिप् is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहु-राजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition 'contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix डीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगाद्गमनन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः (अनउपधा-
लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चनित्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चदात्री, एकदात्री, द्विदात्री 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकमुत्रां समानमुत्रां ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥
केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्यकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजान्, च, (संज्ञाछ-
न्दसोः डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्यकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase **संज्ञा छन्दसोः** of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus **केवली** in the Chhandas, as opposed to **केवला** in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also **मामंकी** and **मामिका**; **भागधेयी** as **मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी** and **भागधेया**; **पापी** and **पापा**; **अपरी** as **उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये**; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and **अपरा**; **समानी प्रवाणी** and **समाना**; **आर्यकृती** and **आर्यकृता**; **सुमङ्गली** (Rigveda X. 85. 33) **सुमङ्गला**; **भेषजी** and **भेषजा** ॥ **सुमङ्गल** takes **डीप्** also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86.

रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जस्विषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिशब्दात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अजसादिभित्तिवत्कथ्यम् ॥

31. The affix **डीप्** comes after the word **रात्रि** in the Chhandas; and in denoting a Name, except when the affix **जस्** (nominative plural) is added.

Thus **या रात्रीं हृष्टा, रात्रीभिः** (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have **रात्रयः**, the regular plural of the word **रात्रि**, as in the sentence **यास्ता रात्रयः**, instead of **रात्रवः** ॥

Vart :—According to Kātyāyana, **ñip** is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination **जस्**; but in all other terminations beginning with **जस्** also. Thus **रात्रिं सहोषित्वा**; here in the accusative singular case also the **डीप्** is not employed.

But how do you explain the form **रात्रयः** in the following **तिमिरपटलैर्वगुण्डिताश्च रात्रयः**; This 'rātrya' is the nominative plural of 'rātri' which is formed by the feminine affix **ñip**; and not by **ñish**. The forms evolved by adding **डीप्** or **डीप्** are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by **ñish** has udātta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word **रात्रि** is formed by the **kṛit** affix **त्रिप्** (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel **इ** of a **kṛit** affix, other than **क्लिप्** belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in **इ**, if it has not the force of the affix **क्लिप्** belongs to this class". Therefore it takes **डीप्** in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुक् भवति डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment **नुक्** is added to the words **अन्तर्वत्** and **पतिवत्**, when the affix **डीप्** is added to form the feminine.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment **नुक्** ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take ङिप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वती and पतिवती ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following :—प्रयते स्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वती; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मत्प्). Because मत्प् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मत्प् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 9 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas :—
as सान्त्वती or सान्त्वती देवानुपैत् ॥ पतिवती or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नौयज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पत्नि वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पत्नी means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पति as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmanī is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पत्नी means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sūdra, for a Sūdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पत्नी is, however, extended to the wife of a Sūdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sūdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥३४॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति डीप् इत्यत एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरिदं ब्राह्मणी भानस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, (पत्युर्नः स्त्रि०)
वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं वत्युर्नकारदेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:— 1 सनान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 दास 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, (स्त्रियां डीप्)
वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियामेकारदेशो भवति डीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रत. when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायै 'the wife of Pūtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sūtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, inasmuch as the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sūtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (क्रतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः (ऐ डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त एकारदेशो भवति स्त्रियां डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसिदा have udātta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sū II. 19), the feminine of these has udātta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udātta on the final (Phiṭ sū I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udātta, by the rule of sthānivat bhāva, even if the present sūtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी 'the wife of Kusidai. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. 1. 20.]

मनोरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, (ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियांङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दात् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारश्चादेशः ऐकारश्चात्तः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udātta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu. The word मनु has udātta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicatory न्, and affixes having indicatory न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः (वा ङीप्स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तात्तकारेपधाद्वाङाप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तकारस्य च नकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विशङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्लमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so भ्येता or भ्येनी 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udātta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. 1. 197 (अिनत्वादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicatory न् or त् have udātta accent on the first vowel";)

because these words are formed by the Unādi affixes तन् (Un III, 86) and इतन् (III. 93), or by the Phiṭ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तर्णानितान्तानाम् “of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel”).

Why do we say “expressive of color”? Observe प्रहता, प्रहता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (गतिरनन्तरः “the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a gati word with a word formed by the affix kta”). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take nīp.

Why do we say “ending in a gravely accented vowel”? Observe श्वेता ‘white.’ Here though the word expresses ‘color’, yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by rule of Phiṭ sūtra I. 21 वृतादीनां च “the words ghṛita &c. have udātta on the final”).

Why do we say “having the letter त् as its penultimate letter”? Otherwise the affix nīsh will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter अ in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शित्तिर्ब्राह्मणी ‘a black Brahmanī woman’. Here शित्ति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त्, has anudātta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end with अ, its feminine is not formed with nīp.

Vārt:—The affix nīp comes also after the word पिच्छः; as, पिच्छी ‘of tawny color’.

Vārt:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता ‘black’ and पलिता ‘grey’.

Vārt:—According to some, the substitute क्त्वं replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिकी (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिकी (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic:—As गतो गणस्त्वृणमसिकिकानाम् ॥

अन्यतोडीष् ॥ ४० ॥ यदानि ॥ अन्यतः, डीष्, (वर्णानुदात्तात् स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकानुसत्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent.

The word च of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i.e. after words which have *not* त् as penultimate. The difference between nīp and nīsh affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पाशी, शबली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As खट्वा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णः, कपिला ॥

षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्गः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि षुन्) the affix षुन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take ङीष्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रञ्जकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c. as गौरी, मस्ती । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurādi class.

1 गौर, 2 मस्त्य, 3 मनुष्य, 4 शूद्र, 5 पित्रल 6 हव, 7 गवय, 8 मुक्क, 9 कृष्य, 10 पुट, 11 सूत्र 12 द्रुण, 13 द्रोण, 14 हरिण, 15 कौकण, (काकण,) 16 पदर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुवल, 20 बिम्ब, 21 बदर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 सलद 28 शष्कण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 अलिन्द 33 गजुज, 34 पाण्ड्य 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वत्थ 38 मृपाद, 39 आखक (आपञ्चिक), 40 शष्कुल, 41 सूर्य (सूर्म) 42 दूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 सूष (पूष) 45 दूय, 46 सूप, 47 मेथ, 48 वल्लक, 49 धातक, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 सात्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृ-स) 56 अतस, 57 उभय, 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मट, 61 छिद्, 62 पेद्य, 63 मेद्, 64 श्वद् 65 तक्षद्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनडूही, 68 । एषणः करण । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकादन 72 गवादन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औदाहमानि (औदाहमानि) 77 गौतम (गो-तम) 78 वारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अयःस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिकि, 83 बान 84 मेथ, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलाञ्ज, 87 आलब्धि, 88 आलक्षि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक, 91 भारद, 92 नद, 93 दोट, 94 नोट, 95 मुलाद, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानट) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी, 105 लेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलास्त्रज्ञायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पट, 113 पिण्ड, 114 षण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गुर्द, 117 शम, 118 सूद, 119 औड (आर्द) 120 हर् (हर्) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कहर, 125 कन्दर, 126 कवल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष, 130 बृहन्, 131 महन्, 132 सोम, 133 सौधर्न । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 बिकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छाणिवचन । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरीतकी) 142 कौशातकी, 143 शमी, 144 वरी, 145 शरी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रोष्टु, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेढ, 151 सुच, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलूक, 154 आलिङ्गि, 155 पावन, 156 एव, 157 विदक, 158 भट्ट, 159 वहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

A.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sūtra ; the word मस्त्य &c. being jāti words having a penultimate ष् would

not have taken *nīp* (IV. 1. 63) but for this *sūtra*; *भृन्* and *तक्षन्* would have taken *डाप्* (IV. 1. 13), *एषण* is formed by *स्तुद्* and would have taken *nīp* (IV. 1. 15) *इष्यतेऽनया* = *एषणी* 'a balance, a probe'. *गौतम* would take *nīn* also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *varṭika* *मातारि पिब* given under IV. 2. 36, the affix *आमह* in *मातामह* is treated as having an indicative *ष* ॥ The word *मातामह* will take *डीष्* because it is *बित्*; its inclusion in the list of *Gaurādi* indicates that the rule of *डीष्* application, because a word is *बित्*, is not universal (*अनित्यः बिल लक्षणो डीष्*) ॥ Therefore we have forms like *रङ्गा* &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवराद् वृत्त्यमात्रवपनाकृति
माश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाज्योविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान-
पद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवरात्, वृत्ति-अमल-अव-
पन-अकृतिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अज्योविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (खि
यांडीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु ययासंख्यं डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix *डीष्* is employed after the eleven words 'jānapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कवर; the affix *डीष्* is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus *जानपदी* 'a profession', otherwise *जानपदी*, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix *अज्* to *janapada*, by *sūtra* IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to *Utsadi* class of words: in forming the feminine the affix *डीष्* will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also *कुण्डी* 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise *कुण्डा* 'a name of Durga'. (3) *गोणी* 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise *गोणा*, a particular name. (4) *स्थली* 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise *स्थला* as *स्थलयोरकं परिपूयन्ति* ॥ (5) *भीजा* 'cooked', otherwise *भाजा*, (6) *नागा* 'a stout woman', otherwise *नागा* ॥ The word *नाग* when a *guṇa-vachana* word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix *nīsh* in the feminine; otherwise *डाप्* when expressing general qualities. When it is a *jati-*

vachana word it takes डीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काला 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागौ; or नीली वडवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नीला 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कवरा 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दात्प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'. By *Phit Sūtra* II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udātta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken डीष् always; but the present sūtra makes a *niyama* rule and restricts the application of डीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

वोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनान् प्रतिपदिकाद् उकारान्तान् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनात् डीबायुशब्दार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ खस्त्ययोगोपधात्वतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhyā* or *sarvaśāman*, or *jāti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (Guide to Paṇini). Thus from वदु 'dexterous', we have वदुनी or वदुः (without a feminine affix); so नरुः or नरुदी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe मासुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vārt :—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix णिप् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-

cented. As, वस्त्री ॥ वसु is formed by उ (Vñ I. 10) and is ādyudātta because the उ is निच् ॥

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated after the word स्वर, and words though ending in short उ, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As स्वरुचिं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुचिं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined :—

सत्वे निविशतेपैति पृथग् जातिषु व्रज्यते ।

आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बहुादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvādi class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्मति, 3 अञ्जति, 4 अङ्गति, 5 अंहति, 6 शकटि, (शक्ति), 7 शक्तिः शस्त्रे, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति 11 राधि, 12 शाधि, 13 अहि, 14 कपि, 15 बटि, 16 मुनि, 17 इतः प्राप्यंगात् । 18 कृदिकारादङ्गिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽङ्गिन्नर्यादित्येके । 20 चण्ड, 21 अराल, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विशङ्कुट, 27 भरुज, 28 ध्वज, 29 चन्द्र-भागान्नद्याम् (चन्द्रभागा नद्याम्) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुराण, 33 अहर्, 34 क्रोड, 35 नख, 36 खुर, 37 शिखा, 38 बाल, 39 शफ, 40 गुद ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल, 45 राग इत्यादि ॥

The affix *nīsh* also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रि or रात्री ॥ Some say that the feminine affix *nīsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a guṇa-word and would have *optionally* taken *nīsh* even by the last sūtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sūtra, by which it *necessarily* takes *nīsh* in the Chhandas. It is an Ākritigāṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बहुादिभ्यः स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुादिभ्यः छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बहुषु हित्वा प्रपिवन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a hero.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, which it governs than for this sūtra. For the word

'optionally.' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya' ? would have been a necessary rule and not optional : for आरम्भसान्ध्यादेव नित्योच्यते: सिद्धः, योगारम्भान्धित्य योजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विन्धी, प्रन्धी, सुन्धी, शम्धी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम् ? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विन्धी &c. are feminine of विभु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उतः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sûtra IV. 1. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of व्बद्; this form being confined to sûtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्भूतो धेव्यातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्त्तते पुंस आख्याभूतं तस्मान् डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकाशीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूर्यादेवतायां चाद् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsâ) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामात्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रची 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by दाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sûtra will not apply

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattâ, and Yajñadattâ, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sûtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिका and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

Vārt :—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sūrya', while सूरि will denote a human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had डीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then दाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमरण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥
इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-रण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्,
(स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिमरण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवाशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ यवनाहिन्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्यादणत्वेच ॥ वा० ॥ अर्बक्षत्रियाभ्यांवा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्गलाच्छन्दसि लिङ् ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix डीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix डीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix डीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', शर्वाणी 'the wife of Śarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडानि 'the wife of Mṛḍa'

Vārt :—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vārt :—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी 'a kind of grain, oat'.

Vart :—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

Vart :—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor',

Vart :—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vart :—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally : when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—In the Chhandas, the affix डीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुद्गल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ह् ॥ The force of the indicatory ह् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus रयीरभून् मुद्गलानी गविदौ ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix डीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse :— सा हितव्यधनक्रीता प्राणेश्यपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix टप् form-

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृङिः सहसमासवचनं माह सुबुत्तने: "Gati, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

कादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ काद्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वात् डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्पदिकात् क्तान्तल्पाख्यायां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्त, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्या-यात् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अश्वविलिप्ति द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सूपविलिप्ति पात्री 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brāhmaṇī lady covered with sandal essence?"

बहुव्रीहेऽन्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (कात् स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्योऽन्तोदात्तस्तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थ विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुनश्चसुकालं सुखादिपूर्वास्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्तान् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svāṅga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svāṅga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंसनिन्ती 'having a rent on the temporal bone', कसनिन्ती 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोत्कणी (गलमुत्कृत्तमस्या), केशदूरी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vārt आतिकालसुखादिद्वयः परवचनम्, the Nishthā stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words शंस &c. are jāti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrīhi compound?" Observe पादपतिता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जाता 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus वन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'; स्तनजाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 *Vārt.*

Vārt.—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्याः पाणिगृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Vārt.—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नम्र, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, सवत्सरजाता, सुखजाता or दुःखजाता &c.

Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वाङ्ग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् क्तात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् क्तान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and क्तान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus शार्ङ्गजम्, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170). but as the first portion of this Bahuvrīhi is not a *Svānga* word, but a *jāti* word, its feminine will be शार्ङ्गजम्भी or शार्ङ्गजम्भा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुगयीती or सुगयीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe शंसमिन्नी, ऊरुमिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वसन्च्छन्ना and वसन्च्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI,

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

Vārt:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As मङ्गलविह्वली or मङ्गलविह्वला ॥

स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां डीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गयदुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्तात्प्रातिपादिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अंगालकण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix डीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvṛtti* of the words बहुव्रीहेः, कान्तादन्तोरात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛtti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra. Thus चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpuruṣa compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्, and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe बहुवृत्त 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुगुल्फा ॥

Vārt:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word अङ्ग, गात्र and कण्ठ, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus सुगुल्फा or सुगुल्फा; सुगात्री or सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी or स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥

The word स्वाङ्ग has a technical meaning as given in the following verse :—

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।

अतस्थं तत्रवृष्टं चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is *svāṅga*; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-
जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृङ्गात्, च, (स्वांगात् स्त्रियां वा डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविशदरेभ्योनित्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine डीष् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जङ्घा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्गा 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sūtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदरा, बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठा, दीर्घजङ्घी or दीर्घजङ्घा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vart :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादिबह्वचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-बहु-अचः, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्ताद् बह्वजन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix डीष् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c, of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is ākriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणशूरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याणबाला, कल्याणशका, कल्याणगुदा, कल्याणपाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पृथुजघना, महाललाटा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ्-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीष् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix डीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सक्तेषा, अक्तेषा विद्यमानक्तेषा ॥ So also सनासिका अनासिका or विद्यमाननासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54

नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नख-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां डीष् न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नखमुखान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये डीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix डीष् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śārpanakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa'. The न् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3. (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गौरमुखा, कालमुखा &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निषात्त्वते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजिह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजिह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजिह्व but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix डीष् would not have applied to it by IV. 1. 54. The present aphorism enjoins डीष् ॥ Thus दीर्घजिह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजिह्वी वै देवानां हव्यमलेद्

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dirgha-jihvī* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form *dirgha-jihvī* in the sūtra, it is indicated that the application of डीष् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sūtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदान् डीष् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदान्, डीष्, (स्त्रिया) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् डीष्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 54 to 58. Whereever by those rules there would have been डीष्, the present enjoins डीष् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix डीष् being anudātta (III. 1. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङ्नासिकी or प्रांनासिका, But not so in प्राङ्मुखा ; or प्राङ्कोडा or प्राङ्जघना because these words do not take डीष् (by IV. I. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of डीष् ॥ The sūtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix डीष् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svānga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but डीष् is not added to Compounds ending in क्रोड &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sūtra may be translated "डीष् is the substitute of डीष् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix डीष् will come only there, where else the affix डीष् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of डीष् is taken in the next sūtra (IV. 1. 61) and not that of डीष् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of डीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of डीष्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह is formed from the root वाह् with the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vāh." Thus दिव्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—दिव्य + वाह + डीष् = दिव्य + ऊह + आह + डीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊह, Ūth is the samprasārana of vāh, when this is a *bha*) = दिव्य + ऊह + डीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasārana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute', = दिव्यौही (VI. 1. 89 एत्थेयस्यृदसु 'vriddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or ūth follow'). Similarly प्रवौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिश्वी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिश्वी इत्येतौशब्दौ डीष्न्तौ भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिश्वी are irregular forms ending in डीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नात्याः शिश्वस्तीति = अशिश्वी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपदी भव and अशिशुमिव मामयं शिशुमभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आयेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

जातेरस्त्री विषयाद्योपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अस्त्रीविषयात्, अयोपधात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यत्प्रातिपदिकं न च स्त्रियमिव नियतमस्त्री विषयमयकारोपधंच तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्य गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sūtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; मुकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brāhmaṇī'; वृषली 'a woman of the Śūdra caste', नाडायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारायणी 'a Chārāyaṇī', कटी 'a woman of Brahmins who read the Kāṭha', बह्वृची 'a woman of the class of Brahmins who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vārt:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate य् viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', ह्य 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The य् of matsya is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ऊयाम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken डीष् independently of this vārtika.

Another definition of jāti is :—

प्रादुर्भावविनाशाभ्यां सत्वस्थ युगपद्गुणैः ।

असर्वलिङ्गां बह्व्यो तां जातं क्रवयो दिवुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाद्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरपदान् तु यतनेन्यते सर्वजादिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सत्पाक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकैभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनशण पिण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मूलान्नमः ॥

64. And the feminine affix डीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus औदनपात्री, शककुर्वी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, शसीफली हर्ममूली, and गोवाली ॥

When, however the affix डीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, (स्त्रियां डीष्)
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तात्मातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इम उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dākshī'. Thus अवन्ति + डीष् (IV. 1. 171) आवन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is added. दाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness विद् 'Vaishya', दरु 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men"? Witness तिलिनिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that डीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य्. Thus औदनशी ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इस् (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a jāti. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचिन्ती ॥ The affix इस् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c, and does not denote a jāti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां)
वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तात्मानुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकार्द्रत्रयामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेभ्यारज्ज्वासीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य् as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधान् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरूः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धुः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called", जीवबन्धुः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class",

Thus ऊङ् + ण्य = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form करु (कुरु + उ = कुरु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, in Bahuvrihis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मवन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter ङ् as its penultimate"? Witness अर्धब्रह्मणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart.—The affix ऊङ्, comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाङ्कः 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकूः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुशब्दान्ता आतिपदिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहुः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृण्बाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्गोः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पङ्गुशब्दात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ असुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गु 'a female lame'.

Vart.—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to पङ्गुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter अ of the word. As पङ्गुः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puṇyoga ङीप् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरुत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकादौपम्ये गम्यमाने स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कदलास्तम्भोरुः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नासासोरुः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word करेणुकोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (कोरेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकोरे च कोरेणुकोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादेः प्रातिपदिकादुत्तरपदात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark', and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)', शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot', लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked', वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs'.

Vart.—So also with the words सहित and सह. As सहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोऽच्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डल्वशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रुशब्दे सुपर्णा च ॥ मास्तकमण्डलुं शुक्राय वधात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vart.—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालुः ॥ Thus गुग्गुलुः,

मधुः, जतुः, and पतयालुः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अच्छन्दोऽर्थे वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद्रूः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa', कमण्डलूः 'Kamaṇḍalû'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रूः 'the tawny color,' कमण्डलूः 'a water-gourd.'

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यो ङीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादि, अञः, ङीन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादिभ्योऽमन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix ङीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kâpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बैरी 'a female descendant of Bida'. भौरी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debar the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between ङीष् and ङीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by ङीन् will have udātta accent on the first syllable जिन्यादिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicative ञ् or न् has udātta accent on the first syllable) : while the word formed by ङीष् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बैरी 'a female descendant of Bida', and बैरी 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravādi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 शौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैव, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अञ् the first four being formed by the अञ् of (IV. 1. 83) from शृङ्ग, कपट, शुगुल and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अञ् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurādi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मकुलेय, 9 आनिधेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ङक् (IV. 1. 123) except kâmaṇḍaleya which is formed by ङञ् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ङक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काव्य 16 कैव्य are formed by व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह् 'to try', and परि + आ + इह् (Uṇ IV. 117 सर्व धातुश्च इह्) 19 आम्भरथ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105). 20 वौदपान is formed by अञ् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वतण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवन्, 25 गौरिमन् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मत्प्, and are consequently उगित्, and should have taken ङीष् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains ङीन् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by यञ् and गौरि is formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95), both are ādyuddātta owing to ञ् (VI. 1. 197). When मत्प् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for matup being पित् is anudātta (III. 1. 4). There-

fore whether डीप् be added or डीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain ādyudātta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply घादिषु नित्यम् ह्रस्वार्थम् ॥ For had these words taken डीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes च &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking डीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sūtra उगितश्च (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word इति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to उगित् words, by enunciating the word उगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by डीन् ॥

26 वृ 27 नर. The word वृ would have taken डीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken डीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vridhhi before डीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ य्यङ् व्यङश्च सामान्यग्रहणमेतत् ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ पाश्च यङः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix य्यङ् or व्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes य्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and व्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बश्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashthya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvīrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्या, वाराह्या ; बालाक्या ॥

Vart.—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यप् when the letter प immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्काराक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Sarkarāksha', पौतिमाश्या 'a female descendant of Pūtimāshya', गौकाश्या 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sūtra 16 would have taken डीप् ॥

The प् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term भाप् with डाप् and टाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Kraudādi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment य्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sūtra and need not be included in the Vārtika. There is no Samprasāraṇa of the य when पुञ्च or पञि is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुञ्चः and नत गौकाक्षीपुञ्चः ॥

आवश्याश्च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्याश्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word आवत्थ ॥

The word अवत्थ belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking चप्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus आवत्था 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'. But आवत्थायनी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारेऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानि त ऊर्ध्वमनकमिव्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As वृत्तिः The word so formed is called Prātipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as वृथिव्य माजौ ॥ अमारि पञ्चाङ्ग डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, अग्नि, आदिम, पश्चिम ॥ See Vārt IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृतद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥७७॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवशब्दात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां निः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As वृत्तिः 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, डीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word वृत्ति ending in इ does not take the affix डीप् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इञोः अना-
वयोः, गुरुपोत्तमयोः, प्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे आवणिञौ विहितावनार्षौ तदन्तयोः प्रातिपदिकयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां प्यङ्गदेशो भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उत्तमशब्दः स्वभावान् चिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यक्षरमाह उत्तमस्य समीपगुरुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं अथ तद्गुरुपोत्तमं प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इञ्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (अथङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिश्रोः 'of अण् and इम्' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi' (3) गुरु-गोत्रमक्षोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) अथङ् 'the substitute is shyan' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इम् are replaced by अथङ् before the feminine affix चार्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like राक्षि &c.

Of the substitute अथङ् the letter ष and ड् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष differentiating this affix from अथङ् and the letter ड् affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चार् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92) Replace this affix by अथ and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धिः gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इम् (as taught in sūtra अतइम् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहिः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालक्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इम्' ॥ Witness आर्तभाग from कृतभाग ॥ Here the word कृतभाग belongs to विशदि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अम् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अम् is not replaced by अथङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इम् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापदवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness अहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahi-chhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां अथङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिश्रोस्त्रियेव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुत्रिकपुत्रिकमुखरप्रभृतयः, स्ततो गोत्रे विहितश्रोणिश्रोः स्त्रियां अथङ्देशो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, अथङ् is the substitute of अण् and इम्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long

The phrase अणित्रोः of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अगुरुपोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras. i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक, शुणिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus पौणिक्या, भौणिक्या and माख्या ॥

The word अवयव in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like देवदस्या याज्ञवत्या ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down; can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अग्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya samāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्यायः ॥ These are, however, technically called कुल ॥

कौड्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ कौडि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां प्यङ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कौडि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां प्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरुपोत्तमार्थ आरम्भः । अनणिमर्थश्च ॥

80. The affix प्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इष् ॥ In fact प्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौड्या 'a female Krauḍi', लाड्या 'a female Lāḍi'. The following is the list of Krauḍādi words :—

1 कौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति. These are formed by इष् (IV. 1. 95). 6 चोपयत्, 7 चेटयत् (वेटयत्), 8 सैकयत् (शैकयत्) 9 वैल्वयत् (वैकल्पयत्). These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि. This is formed by इष् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97) added to सुधात् ॥ 11 सूतयुवत्याम्. The word सूत takes प्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden as सुत्याः; otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by टप्, or सूती by डीष् denoting a jāti. 12 भोज क्षत्रिये ॥ This debars डीष् of jāti as भोज्याः, otherwise टप् as भोजाः (भोजयति). 13 यौतकि, 14 कौदि, 15 भौरिकी, 16 भौलिकि, 17 शाल्मलि, 18 शालास्थलि, 19 कापिष्ठलि, 20 गौकश्य (गौलक्ष) ॥ All these except the last are formed by इष्, the last is formed by वस् of Garg ādi class.

दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यो, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि, काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यांप्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix प्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

These words end in the affix इस्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when व्यङ् is not added, डीष् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 *ante*. Thus वैवयस्या or वैवयसी, so also शौचिवृक्ष्या or शौचिवृक्षी, सात्यमुग्न्या or सात्युम्भी, काण्डेविद्ध्या or काण्डेविद्धी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चयमव्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिश्रायमधिकारः । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिरिति यावत् । स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोपि तन्नामवस्थितः, के चिन्नित्यनेव भवन्ति । लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्तं रागान्, तज्जभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति । तेषु सामर्थ्ये सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टेदेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । समर्थानां मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्धार्यते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first'; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sūtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक); for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्यापत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his': i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As उपगौरपत्यं = ओपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix भण् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगौरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sūtra तेनरक्तं रागान् (IV. 2. १); here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which'; as काषायेन रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम्. 'Kāshāya is a cloth, coloured

by *Kashāya*'. Similarly in sūtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53,) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as सुप्र भवः = सौप्रः "who stays in Srughna'.

The word समर्थानाम् is the genitive plural of समर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhāraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the first is specifically pointed out as the *prakṛiti* or base, to which the affix is to be added. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोरपत्य देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्य are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः, and अपत्यं is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say "after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case; Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्य, instead of the Taddhita formed word औपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (*samāsa*); as उपगवपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the *samāsa* rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2. because the *anuvṛtti* of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here: so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the *samāsa* rules will find scope.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional",

प्राग्दिव्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीव्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीव्यत्सशब्दानां यानि त ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism *tena dīvyati* &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adhikāra* sūtra or a *paribhāṣā* sūtra or a *vidhi* sūtra. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यापत्यम् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As औपगवः 'the son of उपगुः'; कपटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sâma-veda (IV. 1. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्वीव्यतीयेष्वयेष्वण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stems 'agrapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena divyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with 'pati.' The present sūtra enjoins अण् instead. Thus अश्वपति + अण् = आश्वपतम् (VII. 2. 117 तद्धितेष्वचामदि 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory अ or ण्, there is viddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 दस्यंति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or अ or आ, of a *bha*.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 वज्रपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यादित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदान्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्वीव्यतीयेष्वयेषु ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ यमाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ पृथिव्या आश्रौ ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ इन्द्रायगश्रौ ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ बह्विषदिलोपश्च ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ ईककच ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ ईकश् छन्दसि ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ स्थामोकारः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ लोमोपत्येषु बह्वु ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यत् ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ ण्यादयोर्विशेषलक्षणादपवादोत्पूर्वविप्रातिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena divyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दित्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi', आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यः; so also सेनापत्यम् ॥

Vart:—So also after the word यम; as, याम्यम् ॥

Vart:—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच, मति and पितृमत् ॥ As वाच्यम् (VS, 13, 56.) मात्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

Vārt:—The affixes ञ and अञ् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ञ = पार्थिव; पृथिवी + अञ् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15.

Vārt:—The affixes यस् and अस् come after the word देव 'a god'. As दैव्यम् or दैवम् 'divine'.

Vārt:—There is elision of the णि of बहिस्, and there is the affix यस्; as बहिस् + यस् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vārt*:—and the affix ईकक् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकक् = बाह्यैकः 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is viddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicatory क). *Vārt*:—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकस् as बाह्यैकः the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its णि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the णि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ्र. In fact the following vārtika अव्ययानाञ्च (the णि of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the णि of the base भ्र is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya आरान् we get आराती &c; here the णि is not elided.

Vārt:—Of the word स्यामन् the णि is replaced by अ as अभ्यस्थानः ॥

Vārt:—The णि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow; as उडुलोमाः, शारलोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number? Witness औडुलोमिः, शारलोमिः (IV. 1. 99).

Vārt:—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यन् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe गोभ्यो हिते or आगतं = गोरूप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Vārt:—These affixes य्य &c, taught in this sūtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words हिति &c अण् will not be employed, but य्य, as दैव्य "a descendant of हिति". So also वानस्पत्यम् = (वनस्पतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word हिति but from द्विती, the feminine of the word हिति, formed by the affix डीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word हिति being formed by the Kṛit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take डीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word द्विती is added ढक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣā प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्ग विशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form *इतेय* as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahābhāṣya or any Vārtika.

उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राग्वीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तदपवादानां च बाधकः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-dīvyati &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औत्सपानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

1 उत्स, 2 उत्सपान, 9 विकार, 4 विनद, 5 महानद 6 मसानस, 7 महामाण, 8 तरुण, 9 तल्लन । 10 वष्कयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुप्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उद्यानर, 20 ग्रीष्म, 21 पीलुकुण. । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृष देश, 24 भल्लकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्वंदिन, 28 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्त्वत्, 30 कुरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह, 34 कुकुम्भ, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसि ॥

Vart:—The word ग्रीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : ग्रीष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmī Tristup metre'. But ग्रीष्मः 'belonging to summer'. The word छन्दसि here means 'metre', and not Veda. The word वष्कयासे = वष्कय असे, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be गोवष्कयिः ॥ The Paribhāṣhā ग्रहणवत् प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have आधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो देशः ; otherwise औदस्थनिः 'the son of Udashāna.' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्षतोऽंशः ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् स्त्री भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्यनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंज्ञकनाद्येर्थास्तेषु स्त्री श-
ब्दात्पुंसाद्विशेष यथाक्रमं नञ्स्त्रीयो प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

87. The affixes नञ् and स्त्री come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीण्य 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore

the word स्त्रीणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषुभवं (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females,; or स्त्रीयभागतः (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly पुंस + लम् = पौंसम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1. 115. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुवत् (and not पौत्) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, the affix लम् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत्, ॥ The forms स्त्रीत्वं, स्त्रीता, पुंस्त्वं and पुंस्त्वा are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The ह् of पुंस् is elided before लम् by VIII. 2. 23, had it not been elided, one affix लम् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्वः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन लज्जितः प्राग्वीक्ष्यतीयोऽपत्यश्रव्यं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुग्भवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग्वीक्ष्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' द्विवेदः 'he who studies two Vedas.' त्रिवेदः "who studies three Vedas." Here the affixes denoting संस्कृतं (IV. 2. 16), and अभीते (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्विवेदवृत्तिः 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' त्रिवेदवृत्तिः 'a descendant of three Devadattas,' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati?" Observe द्वेपारावणिकः ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्येदं = पञ्चकपालम् ॥ Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthāna-shashthī, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a *prātipadika* like others, as *पञ्चकपालम्* ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in *पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः* = *पञ्चकपालः* ? This is not so ; there is no *Taddhita* added, and the word *पञ्चकपाल* can never be analysed into *पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः* ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any *Taddhita* affix to *पञ्चकपाली*, viz *पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः*, *पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः*, and *पञ्चकपालः* (a *Samahāra Dvigu*). A *Samahāra* and a *Taddhitārtha Dvigu* of these are analysed in the same way, while the third *पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः* will always remain a *वाक्य* and never give rise to a *Taddhita*.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in *त्रैविद्यः*, *पाञ्चनदः* and *षाट्कुलः* ? The word *त्रैविद्यः* does not mean *त्रिस्रो विद्या अधीते* but *त्रयदशवा विद्या*, *त्रिविद्या*. *त्रिविद्यामधीते* = *त्रैविद्यः* ॥ Similarly *पाञ्चनदः* does not mean *पञ्चसु नदीषु भवः* but *पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः* = *पञ्चनदः*, *पञ्चनद भवः* = *पाञ्चनदः* ॥ So also with *षाट्कुलः* ॥

Why the affix is not elided in *पञ्चम्यो गङ्गम्य आगतं* = *पञ्चम्यरूप्यम्* or *पञ्चम्यमयम्* ? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्माद्विभ्यो गोत्रइत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगृन्तस्तेषामजातौ प्राग् दीव्यतीये विषयभूतं प्रतिषिद्धते ॥

89. The *luk*-elision of *Patronymic* (*Gotra*) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by *Sutras* II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati* &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of *गार्ग्य* is *गर्गाः* (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of *गर्गाः* will be formed by the affix *लु* (IV. 21. 114) which is a *prāgdivyatiya* affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be *गार्ग्यः* as if there was no elision. Thus *गार्ग्याः* + *लु* = *गार्गीयाः* (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151) and not *गर्गीयाः* ॥ Similarly *वात्सीयाः*, *आत्रयीयाः*, *खारपायणीयाः* disciples of *Vātsyas*, *Atreya*s, *Khārpāṇas* ॥

Why do we say “*गोत्रे*” i. e. “when the *Gotra* affix is elided”? Observe *क्रौञ्चलम्*, *बादरम्* ॥ Here the affix denoting “fruit” is elided by *लुक्* by *Sūtra* IV. 3. 163. Then when the *prāgdivyatiya* affix *अण्* is added, the *luk*-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of *बदरी* is *बदरम्*; from which *बादरम्* ‘belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.’

Why do we say “having an initial vowel”? Observe *गर्गम्य* *आगतम्* = *गर्गरूप्यम्* and not *गार्गरूप्यम्*; and *गर्गमयम्*; and not *गार्गमयम्* ॥ Here the affix *रूप्य*,

a *prāgdivyatiya* affix taught in *sūtra* IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly the next affix गयद् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prāgdivyatiya* affix"? Thus गर्गे-यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in *Sūtra* V. 1. 5 not one of the *prāgdivyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The *Gotra*-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus विद् will form its *Gotra* derivative by अम् (IV. 1. 104) as विद् + अम् = वैद् ॥ The plural of वैद् will be विदाः by the elision of अम् ॥ One *yuvan* or two *yuvan* descendants of these विदाः will be formed by the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word विदाः will be supposed not to have lost its अम्, therefore इम् will be added to वैद्, thus वैद् + इम्; then this इम् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is वैदः, वैदौ ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one वैदः or two वैदः will be विदाः ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीव्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धिर्येऽनुत्पन्ने एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is *luk* elision of the *Yuvan* Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a *prāgdivyatiya* affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the *Yuvan* affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper *Prāgdivyatiya* affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (*Gotra*) of फण्दाहतः is फण्दाहतिः (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इम् ॥ The *Yuvan* form of the latter (by *Sūtra* IV. 1. 150) will be फण्दाहतः ॥ When we intend to add a *Prāgdivyatiya* affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of"); we should first mentally elide the *Yuvan* affix ण (IV. 1. 150) from this word फण्दाहतः ॥ Having done which we get the form फण्दाहतिः; and it is with regard to this form फण्दाहतिः that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by *sūtra* IV. 2. 112 is अण् ॥ Thus फण्दाहतिः + अण् = फण्दाहताः 'the pupils of *Phaṇṭāhṛitas*'. Had we in the *first* instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the *Yuvan* word फण्दाहतः, such affix would have been छ and not अण्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the *Gotra* affix इम् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवित् is भागविति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागवित्ति is भागवित्तिकः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhāgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिक is तैकायनि formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीयाः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जलाह् is कपिञ्जलाहिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जलाय; (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जलाय will be कापिञ्जलासः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112) formed from ग्लुचुकायनि ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe फाण्डाहतकृन्वाय् and फाण्डाहतमयय् ॥ Why do we say "a Prāgdīvyatiya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिकाय हित् = भागावित्तीयय् ॥ (See the last Sūtra).

फक्फिओरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक्-फिओः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिओर्बुवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजासौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां लुग् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sūtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायनः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gārgyāna will be गार्गीया or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; वात्सीयाः or वात्स्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from वाक्, the Patronymic is वाक्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is वाक्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yāskāyani will be called वात्सीया or वाक्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धनिर्देशोऽयं, पूर्वैरुत्तरय प्रत्ययैरभितंभद्भते । तस्येति पञ्जीतमर्थास्पत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टवृत्त्यर्थोऽपत्यमात्रमेव ग्राह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sūtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, ण्य, अञ् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is:—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आश्वपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अश्वपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' मौत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रैणः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman'. पौत्सः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 अण् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sūtra? The present sūtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix अण् &c in the case of तस्येदम्॥ How can an अशेषिक affix debar a शेषिक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes अण् &c are treated like शेषिक for this purpose. Thus these affixes अण् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Vṛiddham under certain circumstances. Thus भानोरपत्यं=भानवः, so also श्यामगवः from श्यामगुः (इयामा गावोऽस्य)॥

Kārikā तस्येदमित्यपत्येपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

एको गोत्रे ॥ ९३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षिते भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्यबोत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गे नियमः क्रियते । गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते ॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sūtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्गः, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix इम् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यन्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, युनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः दून्यपत्ये विवक्षिते गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यनन्तरयुवः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly वात्स्यायणः, दाक्षायणः, श्लाक्षायणः, औपगादिः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly श्लाक्षी feminine of श्लाक्षिः and श्लाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sūtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् युनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इम् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । अकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादिम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इम् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दाक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुम्बाः or कीलावपाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इम् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sūtra is दशरथिः, but the form दशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As “प्रसीयताम् दशरथाय मैथिली” ‘Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.’

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये इ३ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संभूयोम्भतोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोऽन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिशब्दानां च तत्सदृशात्प्रातिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इ३ is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘Bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इ३. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाहु, 4 निवाहु, 5 शिवाहु, 6 वदाहु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपनिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 चूडा, 11 बलाका, 12 सूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14 भगला (छगला) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 सुमित्रा, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 अनुहरन्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 29 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमिलौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उदञ्जु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माष, 35 शाराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवद्भिन्, 38 शङ्खलतोदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्क, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभूयोम्भतोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 जाह्विः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इ३ will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाह्वः ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning ‘father-in-law’ is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वशुरिः ॥

The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जान्भिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोभिः ॥

सुधातुरकञ्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्क, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातृशब्दादपत्ये इ३ प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन च तस्याकङ्कदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri.'

Vart:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः, नैषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बैम्बकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः. च फञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके उपत्ये वाच्ये कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix चफञ् the letter झ is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix चफञ् take the further affix य (ज्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter झ of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by आयन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + चफञ् = कौञ्ज + आयन् + अ = कौञ्जायन्. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sūtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ज्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्गज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्रौघ्रायन्यः, ब्रौघ्रायन्यौ, ब्राघ्रायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter झ of the affix ज्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च of चफञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध्न, 3 शङ्ख, 4 भस्मन्, 5 गण, 6 लेभन्, 7 शद, 8 शाक, 9 शु-
ष्णा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाशु, 12 स्कन्ध, 13 स्कम्भ, 14 शकट, 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभं-
धि ॥

नडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शालंकायनः ॥ The word शालंकिः occurs in पैलाहि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इङ् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bāhvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. आग्निशर्मायनः = वाण्य-गण्यः ; otherwise the form will be आग्निशर्मः ॥ The word कृष्ण will form काष्ण्यायनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant ; otherwise कार्णिः, so also राणाग्रनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राणिः ॥ The word क्रौष्टु is changed to क्रौष्ट as क्रौष्टायनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (वर) 3 बक, 4 भुञ्ज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 ल-
नक। 10 शलंकु शलङ्क च। 11 समल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक। 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे। 15 प्राण
16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 कि-
ङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य, 29 कात्य (काव्य) 30 अज,
31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे। 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार,
37 क्रौष्टु क्रौष्ट च। 38 लोह, 39 दुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिशपा, 42 अग्र, 43 वृण, 44 शकट,
45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मित्त, 48 ऋच, 49 जलंधर, 50 अश्वर, 51 दुर्गंधर, 52 हंसक,
53 इण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60
ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बद्ध, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अल, 68 कामुक,
69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 इण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वान-
व्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्यरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञ्जः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञ्जः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्बिंशत्यन्तर्गणः। हरितादिभ्योऽञ्जन्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरिन् &c, when they end in the affix अञ्ज (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of बिह class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ्ज in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हरित (हरित + अञ्ज). The son of हरित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हरित + फक् = हरितायनः "the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes ; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हरित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यञिञोश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-इञोः, च, (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्तादिञन्ताण प्रातिपदिकारूपस्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix फक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग+यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य+फक् = गार्ग्यायणः ॥ वक्ष+इञ् = वक्षिः; वक्षि+फक् = वक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ् which takes the Yuvan affix फक्; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप+यञ् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुर्यिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साम्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्वत्, शुनक, दर्भात्, भृगु, वत्स, आम्नायणेषु (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीघ्र इत्येव । शरद्वत् शुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साम्रायणेष्वप्येवमपत्यविशेषेषु ॥

102. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Agrāyana respectively.

Thus शारद्वत्ताजनः = भार्गवः otherwise शारद्वतः (formed by अञ्) सौनकायनः = वात्स्यः; otherwise सौनकः, दर्भायणः = आम्नायणः, otherwise वार्ष्णिः, (formed by इञ् IV. 1. 95).

The words शरद्वत् and शुनक belonging to विशदि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अन्यतरस्याम् (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्यदन्यतरस्यां फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jivanta.'

This debars इञ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रौणायनः or द्रौणिः, पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix कञ् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अद्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रौणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase “अद्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः”? The द्रौण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhārât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रौणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनृष्यानन्तर्ये विदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनृषि-आनन्तर्ये, विदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । विदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽप्रत्ययो भवति । ये पुनरत्रानृषिशब्दाः पुत्रादयस्तेभ्योऽनन्तरापत्य एव भवति । अनृष्यानन्तर्यइत्यस्यायमर्थः, अनृषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sûtra consists of four words: अनृषि “non-Rishî or not being the name of a sage”; आनन्तर्ये “in expressing an *immediate* descendant.” विदादिभ्य “after Bidâdi words” अञ् “the affix अञ्.” Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र ‘son,’ दुहित्र daughter, ननान्द ‘sister-in-law’ are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः ‘grand-son.’ दुहिन् + अञ् = दौहित्रः “daughter’s son.” But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus विद् + अञ् = वैदः ‘the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.’

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two-fold meaning of this sûtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word ‘anṛishi’ is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्ये is the same as अनन्तर the affix अञ् being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—‘after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishî, the affix ‘añ’ is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.’

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'Anantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'an' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidādi class. 'Indrabhū' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अञ्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अण् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अञ् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अण् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic कषि affix अण् of IV. 1, 114 is not debarred by this अञ् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अञ् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अण् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अञ्), for both Gādhi the father of Viśvāmitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words बिद &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus बिद forms बिदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 इञ् and not by कष्यण् of IV. 1. 114, because बिद is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigāṇa of Bāhvādi.

1 बिद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्द, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किर्द) 9 विश्वानर, 10 कषिषेण (कषिषेण) 11 कृतभाग, 12 हर्यश्च, 13 मिथक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्भू, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शनिक, 25 अश्वत्थान, 26 श्यामाक, 27 श्यामक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 श्यापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किदास, 32 बहास्क, 33 अर्ककूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बभ्रोग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रयीतर (रयन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषार, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मडर, 45 मुडाकु, 46 हृपाकु, 47 मुडु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पूत्र, 50 मुहिर्, 51 ननान्, 52 परस्त्री परशु च । 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक, 55 श्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अञ् ॥ Thus पराक्षया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकादि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारक्षजेयः, with double vṛiddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20: which does not take place in the case of पारशवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादन्त्ये । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वास्त्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वस्त, 3 वाजासे । 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपान्, 7 विदधन्, 8 पा-
चीनयोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शद, 16
जक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवद, 20 मनस्, 21 धनंजय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जर
माण, 25 लेहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंकु, 32 लिशु,
33 गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंशु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनायी, 41
सूनु, 42 कथक, 43 कन्थक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 तृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49
तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भूत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरु-
कुत्त, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकन, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्थ, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्क्य, 66 पर्णवल्क,
67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रहुगण, 71 शण्डिल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 चुलुक,
77 मुल्ल, 75 सुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जतुकर्ण (जातुकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81
अभ्रमरथ, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पृतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अहरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण,
89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिषणज, 94 भडित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 वल्भ,
97 चैकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवहू, 100 इन्द्रहू, 101 एकलू, 102 पिप्पल, 103 वृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहित,
105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुदिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्थु, 111 भुव, 112 कर्कटक,
113 रक्ष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 बिलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष्क after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyâsa the son of Parâsara is called पाराशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatyā forms are by कृष्यण् (IV. 1. 114) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥

मधुबध्नोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, बध्नोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः (यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दाद्वधु शब्दाच्च गोत्रापत्ये-यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मणे कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बध्न when the words so formed mean 'Brâhmana' and 'a Kâusika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmana.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu."
बाधव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise बाधवः ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a restriction, viz. बभ्रु takes यञ् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-classes लेहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it; so that its feminine is formed by ण्. Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapātha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिवोधशब्दाभ्यामाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बोध्यः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बोधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, (गोत्रे, यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दात्ताङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वतण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वतण्डः = आंगिरसः, otherwise वतण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Śivādi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes अञ् and अण्. The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवीदि class: and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वतण्ड्यः and वतण्डः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दात्ताङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgīrasa." Why do we say "of Aṅgīrasa?" Observe वातण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitādi rule (V. 1 18). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Śivādi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अण् yet in the feminine, there is not ष्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अश्वदिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अश्वदिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛitti of āṅgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व-फञ् = अश्व-आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्वमायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ढक् (IV. 1. 122), वैल्य = विलि (a Rajarshi)-ल-य्यङ् (IV. 1 171), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word शय takes षाण् only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायायनः, otherwise शायिः with इञ् or शायः with अण् ॥ The word जात takes 'षाण्' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातेयः with ढक् ॥ The word आत्रेय takes 'षाण्' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. 1. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्मन् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विद् 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खजूर (खजूर) 9 खण्डार 10 बस्त 11 पित्रुल 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडित 15 भण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद् 18 हान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलोक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 इयान 31 धूम 32 धूम 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 योष्म 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 शसक 49 वैल्य 50 (वैल्य) माय्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 प्रहृत 56 सुमनस् 57 कर्मनस् 58 नम 59

(मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आचये भरद्वाज 62 भरद्वाज आचये 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वह 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिव 70 खदिर 71 भण्डक 72 मीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 वीक्ष्य 77 वह 78 खेड 79 नत्त 80 भोजस 81 नम ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गाद्वावपत्यं विशेषे त्रैगर्ते गोत्रे फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गायणः = त्रैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योण ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञायन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛtti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debars इम् &c, Thus शिव-अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly शौष्ठः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class ; being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इम् by IV. 1, 153 ; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्-अण् = तक्षणः ॥ तक्षन्-ण्य = तक्षण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134. The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Subhrādi class IV, 1. 123) and Tikādi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गांगः ; गांगायनिः and गांगेयः ॥ The word विपाशा occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms : वैपाशाः and वैपाशायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix ङक् (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113), as त्रैवेणः but this is replaced by त्रिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 शौष्ठ 3 शौष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 इण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुब् (ककुभा) 10 अन-
भिम्भान् 11 काह्न 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्स्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कहूय 19 कह्य
20 रोध 21 कपिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खेजन 23 वतण्ड 24 हणकर्ण 25 क्षरिह्व 26 जलह्व 27 परिल

28 पार्षिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हेहय 31 पार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बर्धिरका 36 मंजीरक 37 38 मांजरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्नार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्ववृण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 मीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्जनाभ 56 जरत्कार 57 पुथा 58 उत्क्षेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिंका 62 आय-ध्वत् (अर्थध्वत्) 63 सुपिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खट्वरक 68 तक्षन् 69 ऋटिषणे 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 द्रुह्य 75 अबःस्थल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 वर्ण 78 भले-वन 73 विरुपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी 83 द्वयो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कशोध, 88 गोभिलिक. 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिबन्धाच्चाभादित् इत् इत् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति शब्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभेदा-त्प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्ययवर्गः । अवृद्धानि चानि नदीनां मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेषां उपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । इको उपवादः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-
cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,
when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they
are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vriddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Pat-
ronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like
IV. 1. 166, but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word
whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (I. 1. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the
orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदी-
मानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one
and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter
in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river.
The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' इरावत 'son of the Irāvati.'
वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नार्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all *names*
of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitā' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word'? Observe चान्द्रभाग्याया
अपत्यं = चान्द्रभागेयः; so also वासवदत्तेयः formed by इक् (IV. 1. 120). Why do we say
being 'names of *rivers* or *women*.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैततेयः ॥ Why do we
say "when it is a *name*?" Observe शोभनाद्या अपत्यं = शौभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful
woman.'

इक् (IV. 1. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed
from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिगुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, गुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादयः । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरुव इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्राति-
पदिकेभ्यो ऽपत्ये ऽणप्रत्ययो भवती, औऽपवादः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इम् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamiṭra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also आफल्कः, गन्धसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, आनुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vrishni, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word आत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic; the present sūtra enjoins अण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins इक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of आत्रि will be formed not by अण् but by इक् ॥ Thus आत्रियः ॥ Similarly उदयेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औदयेत्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by अण्, so also वैष्णुकसेन्य 'son of Vaishnavasena' a person of Vrishni, family ; so also भिमसेन्य 'son of Bhimasena' a person of Kuru family.

Note.—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families 'themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pāṇini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातृद्वयसंख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्तः, संख्या, सम्, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृद्वयसंख्यापूर्वासंपूर्वाभिरुपपूर्वाद्यापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारश्चान्तादेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mātṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mātṛi.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमातृ + उ + अ = द्वैमातृ + उ + र् + अ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly षण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः, and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

क of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sūtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संमिमीते=संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumâtri'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrâdi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ढकोपवादः । तस्मिन्निमित्तेन कनीनशब्दप्रदेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyâ'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्ये=कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karna or Vyasa'. This debars the ढक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा पुत्रोन्मेषे न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गछगलशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेण्वण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively.

Thus विकर्णः=वत्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः=भरद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥ छगलः=आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंग is used and not शुङ्ग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. 1. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus पैलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pīlā.'

ङक् च अपङ्ककार ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपङ्ककारादप्यङ्क् ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ङक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word अपङ्क as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, अपङ्क + ङक् = नाङ्कितः; अङ्क + अण् = नापङ्कः; अपङ्क + अण् = नापङ्कितः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ङक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीभ्योऽनेन दादादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दा गृह्यन्ते ॥ स्त्रीभ्योऽप्यङ्क् ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ षड्वासा द्वे वाच्ये ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अण् कुम्भाकोकिलास्तुतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ङक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes ण् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विन्ता + ङक् = वैन्तेयः (IV. 1. 2). So also सौमर्गेयः "Son of Vinatā or Suparnā". But ऐहविकः and शरदः formed by अण् meaning sons of ऐहविड and शरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affix.

Vart :—The affix ङक् comes after षड्वा when meaning इव ॥ Thus शरद्वेयः = शरदः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be शरदवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vart :—The feminine words कुम्भा and कोकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus कौम्भः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo."

द्वयचः ॥ १२१ ॥ षट्वाणि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यो ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयचः स्त्रीभ्योऽन्तादप्यङ्क् ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix "ङक्" comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अयचः = दत्तेयः 'son of Dattā', गोपेयः "son of Gopī". This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe शशुनः 'son of शकुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इताद्वयानिचः ॥ १२२ ॥ षट्वाणि ॥ इतः, च, अद्, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतादि द्वय इत्यस्यानुकार्यार्थः ॥ इताद्वयान्ताद्वयानिचान्तादप्यङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इम् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word ढक्: of the last sūtra. Thus आश्रितः 'the son of Atri'. नैषेयः 'the son of निधिः' ।

Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe शास्त्रिः "son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इम्'? Observe शास्त्रायणः 'son of शास्त्रि' ॥ Here though शास्त्रि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95.); so also पञ्चाशद्वयनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मरीचः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debarbs इम् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पाण्डव are not in the list, we find still forms like गङ्गेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शाश्वतः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकुल, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शालाथल, (शालाचल) 6 शालाकाश्रु, 7 लेखाश्रु, (लेखाश्र), 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 राहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिश, 13 शालुक, 14 अजवरिन, 15 शंकाधि, 16 विमान्, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विशा, 20 देवतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल (ज्ञातल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूक्तण्डु, 27 विशि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्डु, 32 शाताहर, 33 पद्मदुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासिष्ठ, 36 गंधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अजीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 अरम, 42 मुक्तण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदन्त, 49 सुदन्त, 50 सुदन्त, 51 कटु, 52 तुल, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिन, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदन्त, 61 शकल, 62 शालाका, 63 खडूर, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मन्ता, 68 अनुदन्तिन्, (अनुदन्ति) 69 अरतिन्, 70 बलीवर्दिन्, 71 विम, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अदमन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिन्, 78 शतावर, 79 शालाका, 80 कृकला, 81 भरत, 82 मयदु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकयु, 86 यमदु, 87 कटु, 88 मुक्तण्ड, 89 सुव, 90 रुद्र, 91 कुशोरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥

विकर्णकुपीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुपीतकात् काश्यपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दात्कुपीतकशब्दात् काश्यपे ऽपत्यविशेषे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ढक् comes after the words 'Vikarna' and 'Kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kāsyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौशीतकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौशीताकः formed by IV. 1. 95.

भ्रुवो वुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रुवः, वुक्, च (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रुवश्च वुक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भ्रू and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भ्रू + ढक् = भ्रु + वुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46) = भ्रुवः + ढक् = भ्रुवेयः (VII. 1. 2).

कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इनङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमासीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इनङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इनङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इनङ्, for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ् and the addition of ढक्.

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन + ढक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'son of Kalyāṇī.' सुभगा + ढक् = सुभागन् + ढक् = सुभागानेयः ॥ Similarly हर्भागानेयः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vriddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of भ. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुद्रष्टि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि) * जरसी, 8 बलीवर्षी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मन्थमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलदाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलदायाः, वा (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुलदाया अपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इनङादेशो भवति । अदिशार्थे वचनं प्रत्ययः पुंवेणव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा means literally one who wanders (भटति) from one family (कुल) to another i. e. an unchaste woman. This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलदा + ढक् = कुलदिन् + ढक् = कौलदिनेयः or कौलदेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलदा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 134. Thus कौलदेयः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकाचेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खि-
यामपत्ये लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक in form-
ing the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭakā'.

Vārt:—So also after the masculine word चटक ॥ Thus चाटकैरः 'son of
Chaṭakā'.

Vārt:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-eli-
sion of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the टाप्
being added as belonging to Ajādi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया द्रक ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, द्रक ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये द्रक प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'द्रक' comes in the sense of a des-
cendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + द्रक = गोधेरः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhrak', the letter द् is replaced
by एच् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udātta accent
fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एद्दक, but the द् is elided by
VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śubhrādi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it
takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गोधेवः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक प्रत्ययो भवति ।

130. The affix 'आरक', comes in the sense of a
descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of
Northern Grammarians.

Thus गोधारः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक contain the letter अ
unnecessarily, for रक would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends
in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the
very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक, shows by implication, that there
are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix
रक would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix as
जाडारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for
the sake of showing respect only.

शुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुद्राभ्यः, वा (द्रक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुद्वि अङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अयं धर्मेन न ह भिधावन्वः क्षीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्विद्वन्ते । सुद्वि-
वापत्ये इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'इक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛitti of इक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of मारक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word सुद्वि means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sūtra debars इक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेरः, वातेरः or वातेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुदङ्ग ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुदङ्गप्रत्यये छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसु'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + छण् = पितृष्वसोयः 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईय ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुप्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसु + ढक् = पितृष्वसेयः ॥ This sūtra indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृष्वसु takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुप्रत्यये तदपेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्वदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुपि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसु' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sūtras IV. 1. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसु also. As मातृष्वसेयः or मातृष्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पादो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पादभ्यः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधाविनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कम्पण्डलु + ढञ् = कम्पण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the उ being elided before ढ). So also शक्तिशोदयेः and जाम्बयः from शक्तिशोदु and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (दृञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः शब्देऽन्योपत्ये दृञ्प्रत्ययौ भवति ।

136. The affix 'दृञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and इक् &c. Thus गार्द्वेयः; हार्द्वेयः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix दृञ् by the last Sūtra. The present sūtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means a woman who has one child only'.

१ गृष्टि, २ हृष्टि, ३ वृष्टि, ४ हृष्टि, ५ विष्टि, ६ कुष्टि, ७ अजवर्ति, ८ मिष्टि ।

राजश्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-श्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजश्वशुराद्यन्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लेखनाद्योपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debars अण् and अक् respectively. Thus राजन्वः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Rājā.' The word राजन् will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

सत्ताद्वयः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्ताद्वयस्योपत्ये यः प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

138. The affix "gha" comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattrā.'

Thus सत्तविः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of सत्त will be सत्तविः ॥ The affix य here should not be confounded with the technical य which means the affixes लप् and लृप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्सः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लेखनाद्योपत्ये सः प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

139. The affix "kha" comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sūtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakāṇi.' That indicates by implication that the present sūtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आस्यकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदान्यतरस्यां यद्धकञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदान्, अन्यतरस्यां, यत्, दकञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानं पूर्वपदं बन्धु तत्पूर्वपदं, समाससंज्ञान्धनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशब्दादप्यन्यतरस्यां बन्धु इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः । ताभ्यां मुक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढक्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकौलेयकः and बाहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलाद् अञ् खञौ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अञ्, खञौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाद् ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुदुःखः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वसृयः 'the sister's son,'

भ्रातुर्व्यञ्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दादपत्ये व्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति । चकाराच्छञ्च ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रातृयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यन् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातृः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दाद् व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेदमित्रः सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. I. 185 and VI. I. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful 'enemy'". भ्रातृव्यः कण्ठकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ढक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अश्वपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 द्वारपाली, 5 वृकवज्जिचन्, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकमाह, 8 कणमाह, 9 हण्डमाह, 10 कुक्कूदाक्ष, 11 (ककुदाक्ष) 12 चामरमाह.

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पात्रप्रभृति गोत्रं गृह्यते । गोत्रं वा स्त्री तदभिधायिनः शब्दार्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ; वकारादठक्च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितुरसद्विज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy ; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गेः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लुचुकायनी will be ग्लैचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix,

Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेया जाल्मः (formed by ढक् IV. I. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगतिर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्गी अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ नानामहादेवपक्षपाथीयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धादृत्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā भागपूर्वपदो विचिर्चितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

वृत्तीयस्त्वाकशापेयो गोत्रादृत्सौवीरेषु ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vṛddha word denoting Sauvira Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhāgavitti', So also तार्णबिन्दविकः formed from वृणविन्दु + जप् (IV. I. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix ढक् (IV. I. 101) as भागवित्तावनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकशाप belongs to Śubhrādi class IV. I. 123: and forms आकशापेयः, his son will be आकशापेयिकः or आकशापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागवित्तावनः only.

The operation of this sūtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकशापेय as given in the kārīkā.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vṛddha' in the sūtra, for the anuvṛtti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sūtra, and a Sauvira class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vṛddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vṛddha is employed in the sūtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः; for had 'Vṛddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sūtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vṛddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyāh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauvīras"? Observe औपगविर्जात्यः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागवित्तावनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बह्वन् indicates the anomalous nature of these four sūtras IV. I. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. I. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. I. 150, denotes 'Sauvira' only and not contempt; whilst the middle two namely IV. I. 148 and 149 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvira'.

फेद्व च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फे, उ-च (कुत्सनेसौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमन्तादप्रातिपदिकान्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये उः प्रत्ययो भवति पश्चारादृत्सौ कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā बहुन्म लुगणा च तार्णबिन्दवः किमः स्मृतः ॥

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां हो कोनो गम्यविद् स्मृतः ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix उ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des-

endant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix किम् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन् will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix किम् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यामुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + ० (II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The केः of the sūtra refers to किम् and not to किन्, for a stem formed by किन् will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to the Kârikâ, three किञन्त stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sūtra viz यमुन्, सुयामा and वाष्प्यायनिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyani.

फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णकिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्डाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-किञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णकिञौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affixes ण and किञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phântâhriti and Mimata.

This debars फक् । By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word निमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and किञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively, Thus फाण्डाहृतः or फाण्डाहृतायनिः : निमतः or निमतायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायनः and निमतायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word निमत belongs to Naḍâdi-ss. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also गार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present

sûtra and sūtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the प्य of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because प्य of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्यः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix क्तिप्. As कौरवायणिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yājñyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix प्य not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्यः ॥ There will not be puṇvadbhāva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṇvadbhāva, then by भस्यदे ताङिते, all Bha bases will become puṇvad before a taddhita affix except इ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + प्य = केशिन् + प्य ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केशिन् + प्य = केशिन् ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvādi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथ्यः will be formed by the affix अण् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथायनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3. 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvādi words, for while those words being formed by the affix वञ् will have udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by प्य ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुप, 4 भजमार (भजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वा-
वृक, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्)
12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रजाती, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 समोष्णीधि,
18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुट, 21 शालका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक),
25 शुभ्र, 26 अभ्र, 27 हर्ष, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्तसि, 30 शूपर्णाय, 31 द्यावनाय, 32
द्यावरथ, 33 द्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार, 35 वडभीकार, 36 पायिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्ख,
40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्तृ, 44 हर्तृ, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इन्पिण्डी),
47 वामरथस्य कण्ठारिवस्वरवर्ज्य. (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49, काक, 50 स्फाण्टक,
51 वातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च (प्यः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ सेनान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दात् कारिवचनेभ्यश्चापत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिशब्दः कार-
णं तन्नुवायासीनां वाचकः ॥

152. The affix *प्य* comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus कारिवेद्यः, हारिवेद्यः, लाक्षणः, तान्नुवायः, कौम्भकारिः, नापितः ॥

उदीचामिञ्च ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचं नतन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिणेः, हारिणेः, लाक्षणिः, तान्नुवायिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ As to the word लक्षण 'carpenter.' See IV. 1. 112. It will have लक्षणः and लक्षण्यः, but will not take इम् ॥ The word नापित being a Vṛiddha, non-gotra word, will take किम् under IV. 1. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

निकान्तिभ्यः किञ्च ॥ १५४ ॥

॥ १५४ इत्येवमादिभ्यः सङ्गेभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154 The affix 'किञ्च' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, कैतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वाय्यायनिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word औरव्य = उरसा येते = उरसः क्षत्रियः, his son will be aurasa with, अम् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix प्य of IV. 1. 150 will take the affix इम् and not किञ्च of this Sūtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला (बाल) 5 धिस्ता, 6 उरस् (उरस), 7 शाव्य (शाव्य) 8 सैन्धव, 9 यमुन्ध, 10 कव्य, 11 घाव्य, 12 नील, 13 भविष, 14 गौकश्य, 15 कुह (कुह) 16 देवरय, 17 तैतल (तैतिल) 18 औरस (औरस), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौरिकि, 22 चौपयत, 23 चैदयत, 24 शीकयत (शैकयत) 25 शैतयत, 26 वाजवत (वाजवत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वेण्व, 31 सुपामन्, 32 भारद्वाज (भारद्वाज), 33 वायका, 34 खल्वका (खल्व्या; खल्व) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उरस (उरस्य) 38 य-

३९ सुयाम्, ४० कृत्स्न (कृत्स्न), ४१ मीत, ४२ जाजल, ४३ रत्न, ४४ लावक, ४५ ध्वजवद, ४६ वसु, ४७ बन्धु, ४८ आवन्धका (as well as आवन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यामपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्गुकोसलकर्मरच्छाग वृषाणां बुद्धिः ॥

155. The affix किम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्ष," but they mean "the son of कोसल, and कर्मर," because of the following Vârtika

Vârti:—The words द्गु, कोसल, कर्मर, छाग and वृष take the augment बुद्धि before the affix किम् ॥ Thus द्गुकोसल्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वृष्यायनिः ॥

ऋणो द्वयचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्ताद् द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकरूपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्वरासीनां वा किम् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कार्त्रायनिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्त्रायनिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्" ? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dākshi' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word' ? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârti:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix किम् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रत् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धे अच्छब्दरूपमगोत्रं तस्यापत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vridhhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आश्वगुप्तयनिः "son of आश्वगुप्त," मानरक्षायनिः 'son of मानरक्ष' ॥ नापितः यनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians' ? Observe आश्वगुप्तिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vridhhi in the first syllable' ? Observe यज्ञवन्तिः 'son of यज्ञवन्त.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name' ? Observe औपगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्च (किष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः वाक्चोऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति सप्तमित्रियोनेन चैषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनि, गोपकायनि ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनि, गोपिणिः ॥

1 वाकिनं, 2 गोपिण (गोपि K.) 3 कर्कष (कर्कष K.), 4 काक, 5 लङ्का, 6 चरिष-
सिणोर्लोपश्च ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्वतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तेः ॥ पुत्रान्तात्प्रातिपदिकायः किम्प्रत्ययस्तात्पिन् परस्मै ऽन्वतस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तरस्य ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vriddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sūtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vriddhi in the first syllable will take the affix किम् by IV. 1. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः or गार्गीपुत्र-यनिः or गार्गीपुनिः ॥
So also वात्सीपुत्रकायनिः, वात्सीपुत्रायनिः and वात्सीपुनिः ॥

प्राचामवृद्धात्किन्वहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृद्धात्, किन्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाच्छब्दरूपावत्ये किम् प्रत्यया-भवति बहुलं प्राचां मतेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Gram-
marians, after a stem not having a Vriddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phiñ' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or आहि-
चुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vriddhi in the first syllable"? Ob-
serve राजवन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्वतरस्याम् all denote optional rules,
so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are
used in this sūtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as
a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sūtra
construction. In some places this affix किम् is not at all added, as राक्षिः,
प्लाक्षिः ॥

मनोजाताव्ययी पुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातो, अङ्-यतो, पुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्यस्य यन् इत्येतां प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्माद्विभोगेन पुमागमः समुदायन चेज्जातिर्गम्यते ॥

Kārikā अपत्ये कुत्सिते शूदे मनोरौत्सार्गिकः स्मृतः ।

नकारस्य च मूर्धन्यस्तेन सिद्ध्यति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अङ् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jāti).

Thus मनु + पुक् + अङ् = मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु + अण् = मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there न is changed into ण and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति वक्ष्यत्वं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गर्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभिजन्तवन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादि, स्तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a *vaṁśya* is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase *पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य* in the *sūtra* should be construed as *पौत्रप्रभृतेर् यद् अपत्यम्* 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last *sūtra*, however, this phrase *पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य* was properly construed by putting the word *पौत्रप्रभृति* in the case of apposition with *अपत्यम्* meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus *गर्गः* being the head; we have *गर्गः*:

$$\text{अपत्यम्} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{गर्गः: (son or putra)} \\ \text{गार्ग्यः (Gotra)} \\ \text{गार्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gārga or Gārgi \&c} \end{array} \right.$$

be alive). The force of the word *तु*, in the *sūtra* is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि (जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a *वंश्यः* like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not *vaṁśya*), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{गर्गः (dead)} \\ | \\ \text{गार्गिः (dead)} \\ | \\ \text{गार्ग्यः (dead)} \\ | \\ \hline \text{गार्ग्यः} \quad \text{गार्ग्यायणः} \end{array}$$

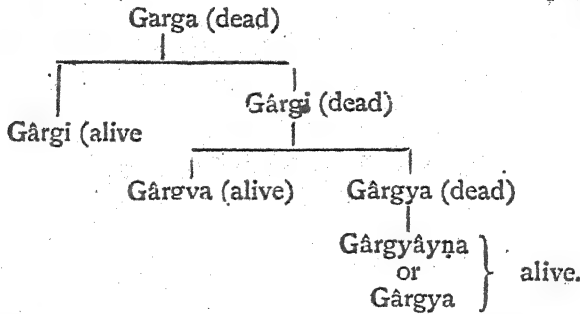
The word *वंश्यः* is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a *vaṁśya*, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This *sūtra* applies to cases when *Vaṁśya* is not meant. Thus *Gārgyāyana* is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, *Gārgya*; similarly *Vātsyāyana*, *Dākhsāyana*, and *Plākshāyana*.

वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति (अपत्य-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word *स्यविर* means 'superior', and *स्यविरतर* is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word *जीवति* is again read in this aphorism, though there is the *anuvṛitti* of *जीवति* also from IV. 1. 163. This *जीवति* of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the *जीवति* which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाद्गोत्रं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याद्गोत्रं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word *Vṛiddha* is another term for Gotra. As *तत्र भवान् गार्ग्ययणः* or *गार्ग्यः* "you honored Gargyāyana or Gārgya". This sūtra is in fact a *Vārtika* and not a sūtra of Pāṇini. Similarly *तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः* or *वात्स्यः*, *तत्र भवान् दाक्षायणः* or *दाक्षिः* ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, *वात्स्यः* and *गार्ग्यः* ॥ The definition of *Vṛiddham* as given by other Grammarians is *अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम्* ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां युनो वा युवसंज्ञो भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus *गार्ग्यो जात्यः* or *गार्ग्ययणो जात्यः* ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is *गार्ग्ययणः* ॥ This is also a *Vārtika* and not a sūtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्, क्षत्रियात् अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मादपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् ॥

168. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also वैश्याकः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drūhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Vart:—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पञ्चालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pāñchālas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gāndhāri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya, or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gāndhāri

or the king of Gāndhāri? The vārtika under Sūtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

अङ्गमगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादङ् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ इयच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसाद-
अङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधानिनो अङ्गो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्यङ्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

107. The affix अङ्ग comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sūramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus आङ्गः, बाङ्गः, मगधः, कलिङ्गः, and सूरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa.' Similarly औङ्गः, सौङ्गः ॥ The Vārtika 'तत्त्वराजनि' given above applies to this also, as आङ्गो राजा, गान्धारी राजा &c.

वृद्धेकोसलाजादाङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्, अङ्
(जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकविकारान्ताच्च कोसलाजादशब्दायां चापत्ये अङ् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकश्च ॥ पाण्डुरोर्जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाद् उभयं वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'अङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajāda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vriddha words, आम्बशुभः, सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashtha and Sauvira'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजाद्यः, which are neither Vriddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vārti:—The affix 'dyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पांडवः, otherwise it will be पांडवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽप्यङ् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'an' and 'ah'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चेदधम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्यपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license.

साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिञ् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्यग्रथ-कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदसंज्ञात् क्षत्रियादित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिव्युत्पत्त्ये इञ् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

Kārikā उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।
भुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyā woman, her son will be साल्वेवः (IV. 1. 121) formed by इक्; also साल्वः formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhalāḥ, Madrakarāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ and Śaradaṇḍāḥ. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तैलखलिः, मद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शरदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahābhāṣya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍha, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीदिः and आजकान्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेऽमावस्तद्राजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there-of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुक्प्रत्ययं चोत्तरार्थम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix:

Namely the affix **अम्** which would have come after the word **कम्बोज** because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus **कम्बोजः** 'The king of Kamboja'.

Vârî:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus **चोलः** 'the king of Cholâs'. So also **केरलः शक्रः, बवन्** ॥

स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरु-भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्येभ्य उत्पन्नस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'nyañ'. (IV. i. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'nya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus **अवन्ती, कुन्ती** and **कुरुः** 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word **कुरु** takes **ऊङ्** in the feminine by IV. i. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe **आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः** and **कौन्त्यः** ॥

अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix **अ**, the affix is **luk**-elided.

Thus *m. शूरसेनः, f. शूरसेनी*; *m. नाद्रः, f. नद्री* ॥ The word **अतः** of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of *tadanata vidhi* (I. i. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrâja affix ending in **अ** is elided". There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'añ (**अ**)', 'aṇ (**अ**)', 'ñyañ (**अ**)', 'nya (**अ**)' and 'in (**इ**)'. Of these the first four all end in **अ**; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sūtra; for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. i. 176 indicates by **ज्ञापकः** that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of **आम्बड्यः** is **आम्बड्या**, of **सौवीर्यः** is **सौवीर्या** ॥

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्यश्चोत्पन्नस्य लुङ् भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन क्त्वियां लुक् प्राप्तः प्राति-
षिद्धतिः ॥

178. The Tadarāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debars the elision of the Tadrāja affix अ (required by the last sūtra). Thus पांचाली, वैदेही, आंगी, वांगी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Śarāvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कार्ष्णी, कैकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, शौभ्रेयी and शौकेयी ॥ The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication; that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadrāja affix अञ् in (V. 3. 117) added to वशु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पार्श्वी, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुण (करुण), 3 कैकेय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 उरस् (उरश्च and उरस्), 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 कौकेय, 3 शौभ्रेय, 4 ज्यावाणेय (यावाणेय), 5 धौतेय (धातेयः धातेय)
6 त्रिगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशीनर, 9 धातेय ॥

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद्वागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्वक्ताभ्यस्तास्मन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रङ्ज् means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also मौजिष्ठम् कौस्तुभम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, शरिणौ कुङ्कुटस्वाक्षौ" the words काषाय and शरिणौ are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमादठक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अण् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीतात् कण् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहाराजनाभ्यामभ् वक्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lākshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लक्षाया रक्तं वस्त्रं = लक्षिकम्, so also रोचनिकम्, शाकलिकम् and कार्दमिकम् ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix अण् also comes after शाकल and कार्दमः । Thus शाकलम् and कार्दमम् ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya the words शाकल and कार्दम do not occur in the sūtra, but are given in the Vārtika.

Vārti:—The affix अण् comes after नीलीः as नील्या रक्तं = नील वस्त्रं ॥

Vārti:—The affix कण् (I. 3. 8) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं = पीतकम् ॥

Vārti:—The affix भञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महाराजन, as हरिद्रम् and माह-राजनम् ॥

नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तीयास्तमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति । शोसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्स भवति ॥

3. The affix अण् already ordained IV. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौषः (VI. 4. 149) e. g. पौषिरात्रिः "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also माघी रात्रिः ; पौषमह 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December', so also माघमह 'the month Māgha' &c.

Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism'? Observe चन्द्र-मसा युक्ता रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say काल 'time'? Observe पुष्येण युक्तचन्द्रमाः ॥

लुप्तविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति अविशेषः ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अद्यः पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya,' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां स्रवणाश्वत्याभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवनशब्दादश्वत्याशब्दात्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति संज्ञायां विशेषे ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Sravana and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus अवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śraṇā; the Muḥūrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here? We should say अवणाः रात्रिः and not अवणं रात्रिः. The reason is that अवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pāṇini himself uses it in sūtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā'? Observe आवणी or आश्वत्या रात्रिः ।

इन्द्राच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रान्-छ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रइन्द्राच्छृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification: as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, being a subsequent sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

वृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्येतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् वृष्टं साम चेत्तद्वति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sāma Veda.

Thus कृञ्चन वृष्टं=क्रौञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Kruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वानित्रम् ॥

कलेर्दक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-दक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृष्टे सामनि अण् वाडिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जाते चार्थे येन्येन बाधितः पुनरपिधीयते स वा डिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयादीकृ स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोत्रादङ्गवर्ष्यते ॥

Kārikā

वृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विरण्डिद्वा विधीयते ।

तीयादीकृ न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्गवर्ष्यते ॥

8. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of Sāma-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना वृष्टं साम = कालेयं ॥ "The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali". This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt.—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना वृष्टं साम = आग्नेयम् 'the Sāma-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भवं = आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्निरागतं "what has come from Agni" = आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt.—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of Sama-Veda seen. Thus उशनसा वृष्टं साम = औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of डित् being to elide the णि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vārt.—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डित्, provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ढङ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिषः or शतभिषजः ॥

Vārt.—The affix ईकृ comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तृतीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt.—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt.—The affix वुञ् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापदवकम् 'the Sāma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṭava'. The affix वुञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाङ्, ऊयङ्, ऊयौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ऊयत्-ऊयौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ढङ् वृष्ट इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

Kārikā

सिद्धे यस्येतिलोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ डितौ ।

ग्रहणं मास्तदर्थं भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

9.- The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word Vâmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन वृष्टं साम = वामदेवेन्य or वामदेवेन्य ॥ The indicatory द्य in 'dyat' shows that द्य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory द्य ?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a डित् affix is added, by VI.

4. 143.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix डित्, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix डित् ?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न तानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had द्य and द्यत् been only taught instead of 'dya' and 'dyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवाग्मदेवेन्य is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवाग्मदेवेन्य ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथ इत्यत्र भवति ॥

10. The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्रः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also काम्बलः, चार्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलाद्वात् तृतीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रयः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इति of V. 2. 115, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां परिवृतो रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyāghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रयः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमार इत्यतदण्प्रत्ययान्तं निपात्यते ऽपूर्ववचने ॥

Kārikā

कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्विधीयते ।

अपूर्वत्वं ब्रह्म तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीति वा ॥

13. The word 'kaumāra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin', i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman

The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याम् भवः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थ्यादमत्रवाचिनः शब्दाद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1: 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्रे means 'vessels'; उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus शरावेष्टुतः = शराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also मालिकः, कार्परः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाण्डुवृत्त ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलान्न-शयितरि-व्रते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयितर्यभिधेयं यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चैव व्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachārī.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्तः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow' or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाधेये भवन्ति ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus आष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = आष्ट्रः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालशाः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दादुखाशब्दाच्च सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूलं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also ईक्ष्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्मष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्मः-ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दधिशब्दात् सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधनि संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3; but the दाधिकं formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd; while the दाधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदाश्वतः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदश्विच्छब्दात् सप्तमी समर्थान् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उदश्वित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीराड्ढञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीराशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थान्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshīra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षीरेयी यवागूः 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोति प्रथमासमर्थान् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पौर्णमासी चेद्भवति ॥

21. The affix **अण्** comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini; but is added by a Vartika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year.”

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः ‘the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya’. Similarly पौषऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here; namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पूर्ण माः = पूर्णमा, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means “moon”.

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थादृक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्थात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशब्दादश्वत्थाशब्दाच्च प्रथमासमर्थत्वौर्णमास्तुपाधिकारं अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words ‘agrahāyaṇī’ and ‘asvattha’ ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः ‘the month called Agrahāyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahāyaṇa. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्यादयः पौर्णमासीशब्दास्तेभ्यो विभाषा ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञाया निवृत्तेऽस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words ‘Phālgunī’, ‘Sravanā’, ‘Kārtikī’ and ‘Chaitrī’ being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रवणः or श्रवणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सैति प्रथमासमर्थदस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे वयाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं देवता चेत् सा भवति ॥

24. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवतास्य = ऐन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly आदित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Aditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवतास्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentences ऐन्द्रामन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणेदेवतयोति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase सास्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍāśa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारदेशो भवति प्रत्ययसन्निधौ ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कार्यं हविः, कायं ककपालं निर्वपेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रशब्दात्सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हावः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽन्वायः ॥

अपोनप्तृपाप्नप्तृभ्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्तृ, अपाम् नप्तृभ्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptṛi' and 'apannaptṛi', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्तृभ्यं हविः or अपान्नप्तृभ्यम् ॥ The words अपोनप्तात् and अपान्नप्तात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्तृ when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैङ्गाक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतरुद्राच्छुभ्रपञ्च ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apannaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apānnaptri. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीयं or अपान्नपत्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apānnapât'. This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus: "The affixes च and छ come after Aponaptri and Apānnaptri", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been, "the affix च comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apānnaptri". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Vart :—The affix छ comes after the words पैगाक्षीपुत्र &c. As, पैगाक्षी-पुत्रीयम्, तार्णबिन्दवीयम् ॥

Vart :—The word शतरुद्र takes च and छ both : e. g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्रियं ॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणौ च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ महेन्द्रशब्दाद् घाणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, चकारच्छम्, सात्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity"

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and माहेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् ट्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, ट्यण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सोमशब्दाद् ट्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सात्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of ट्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट् causes the affixing of डीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य+डीप् (IV. 1. 15) = सौम+ई (VI. 4. 150) = सौमी ॥

वायवृत्तुपित्रुषसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋत्तु, पितृ-उषसः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाय्वावभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यत्यत्ययो भवति सात्य देवतेत्यतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vâyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पित्र्यम् and उषस्यम् ॥ The form पित्र्यम् is thus evolved पितृ+यत् = पितृ+रीङ्+यत् (VII. 4. 27) = पित्र्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पित्र्य has udatta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वद् अग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्यावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-षोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आवापृथिव्यादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

32. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvā Prithivī', 'Sunāsīra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnīshoma', 'Vāstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् &c. Thus आवापृथिवीयम् or आवापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth', सुनासीरीयम् or सुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Suna (Wind) and Sira (Sun)', मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अग्ने ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दाद् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्शीव्यतीयेषु तद्धितायेषु सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढक्त्वच्चः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निदेवतास्य = अग्नेयोऽष्टकपालः ॥

Vart.—The affix 'dhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prāgdivyatiya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भवच्च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भवच्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो भवत्प्रत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये। कालाद्दृष्टमिति प्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेव्यन्ते, तदर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ढञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of सास्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + ढञ् = मास = इक् VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as-मासो देवतास्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्ढञ् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ढञ्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासादण् ॥

35. The affix ढञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahārāja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवतास्य = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपरिकम् ॥

Vart :—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix इञ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

Vart :—After the word पूर्णमासः the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह,
पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवेर्गुण्ये सोढूस्मरीसचोवक्तव्याः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्फलापिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिञ्ज-छन्दसि ङिञ् ॥

36. The words 'pitrivya, a father's brother', 'mātula, a mother's brother', 'mātāmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitāmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following rules:—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ् डुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ् and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mātṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be ताभ्यां पितरि ढामहच्, मातरिषिञ् 'and the affix ḍamahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ष् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vart :—The affixes सोढ, वृत्, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्गुण्यम् = अविसोढम् or अविदूस्म or अविमरीसम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vart :—The affix पिञ्ज is treated like ङिञ् in the Chhandas. As तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थत्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो ग्रामञ्चक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix षक् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अस् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुच् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like केशर &c take यस् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is :—काकानां समूहः=काकम् 'a collection of crows' बाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sūtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

Vārt.—The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणग्रामः 'a collection of qualities', करणग्रामः &c. The following is some of such words :—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigaṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshâ' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भैक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण् + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory ढ, भस्याढे तद्धिते) = गर्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः=यौवतम् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 क्षेत्र, 4 करीष, 5 अङ्गार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मिन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पद्मति, 10 पद्मति, 11 अधर्वन्, (also अर्वन् K.) 12 दक्षिणा, 13 भूत, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र, also 16 धर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्टोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुच् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र,

उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरभ्र, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुच् ॥

वृत्तः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुच् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुच् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'uk-shan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'râjan', 'râjanya', 'râjaputtra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवक्, औक्षक्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रक्, औरभ्रक्, राजक्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यक्, राजपुत्रक्, वात्सक्, मानुष्यक्, अजाक् ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक् is added (VI. 4. 150)

Vart.—Also after the word वृद्ध ; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदाराद्यञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारात्, यञ् च-॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदाराद्व्याहृत्य यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् यञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाश्च यञ्प्रत्ययः ॥

40. The affix यञ् as well as the affix बुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ङक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः = कैदार्यम् or कैशारकम् ॥

Vart.—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गणिक्यम् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिनश्चाद्व्याहृत्य ठञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 144); and कैशारिकम्. We read the anuvṛitti of केशर in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः वाड्वेभ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्ठपुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पश्चो णत्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ वातातूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vart.—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठयः ॥

Vart.—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आहुः by अञ् see IV. 2. 45.

Vart.—The affix णस् comes after पशु, e. g. पश्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final ङ् of पशु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पशु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

Vart.—The affix ऊल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः-तल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गञ्प्रत्यये वक्तव्यम् ॥

43. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grāma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahāya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

Vart.—The affix 'tal' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः शब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कपोतम्, मायूरम्, तैत्तिरम् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kārikā अञ्सिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कोऽर्थः क्षुद्रकमालवात् ।
गोत्राद्वञ् न च तद्गोत्रं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥
ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे तथा चापिश्लेर्विधिः ।
सेनायां नियमार्थं च यथा बाध्येत चाञ् वुञ् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khandika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word क्षुद्रकमालव is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words क्षुद्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrāja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛiddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudatta : and therefore by the last sūtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this list ? It is to exclude the वुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding वुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take वुञ् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word क्षुद्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ? To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that वुञ् affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus औपगव् and कापटव् are anudattādi words because formed by अण् (III. 1. 2), and require therefore वुञ् by IV. 2. 44, but वुञ् supersedes it, and we have औपगव्-कम् and कापटव्कम् ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vārtika under I. 1. 72. As वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम् ॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapāṭha is क्षुद्रकमालवान् सेनासंज्ञायाम्, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion सेना &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a सेना 'army' and not otherwise. As क्षौद्रकमालवी सेना, otherwise क्षौद्रकमालवकं ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sūtra of the Grammarian Āpisālī also धेनुरनञि ठक्मुत्पादयति 'the affix ठक् comes after धेनु in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle नञ्', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडवा, 3 क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vārttika to 4, 2, 45), 4 मिश्रुक, 5 शुक्, 6 डलूक, 7 श्वन्, 8 अहन्, 9 युगवरन्, (वरन्ना v. 1.; युग, वरन्ना K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बग्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ चरणोद्धर्माप्राययोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishṭi* under that Sūtra :—चरणोद्धर्माप्राययोः ॥ Thus कठानां धर्म = काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः = काठकम् ॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थिक्यम् and आथर्वणम् ॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोपृक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तधेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनञ इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars अण् and अम् ॥ The अप्रपानां समूहः = आपृषिकम् ॥ The affix ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50) or क् (VII. 3. 50). Thus हस्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, वाष्कलिकम् ॥

Vart.—Not so, if the word धेनु is preceded by the negative particle नञ् ॥ As आधेनवम् ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अश्वाभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केश अश्व इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽन्यतरस्यां तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः = कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47), अश्वानां समूहः = आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63) अश्वीयम् ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः

वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पाटल (पाटलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिदक, 10 पिदाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मद (नड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यचश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यचः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं इनि च कट्यच इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमलादिभ्यः खण्डच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकरितुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धच् प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकव्या ।

Vart.—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥

Vart.—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमल-खण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज, नलिनी, कौरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vart.—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vart.—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, दृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सधृक् इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थार्थं विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशश्चेत्स भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sūtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus सिबीनां विषयो देशः = सैव: 'The country within the sphere of the Sibi'. So also औद् &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix बुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देवायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनुत*, 3 बाधन्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 हेवयात (देवयातंव; दवयान .), 6 अत्रीड, 7 वरजा*, 8 जालधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेय, 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बेल्ववन. 15 शैलुष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीक्ष्*, 18 बेल्वज (बैल्वज) 19 आर्जुनायन, 20 संमिय, 21 शक्ति, 22 ऊर्णनाभ. 23 आभीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वाचक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, ऐषु-कार्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्य ऐषुकार्यादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यं विधल् भक्तल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विषयो देश इत्येतौस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukari &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधः, वैषेयविधः &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तः, सारस्यायनभक्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत्*, 4 चौदयत् (चौदयत्), 5 काणय, 6 वाणिज्यक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य; वालिज, वालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत् (सौकयत्.), 9 वैकयत्. 10 वैषेय.

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 ब्राह्मणायण, 5 जघाक्षायण (जघायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 हासमिन्नि, 10 हासमिन्नायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्रायण), 12 साक्षायण, 13 सायण्डायन*, 14 साक्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 सायण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 सायण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नड) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 तापिण्डि. 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 अलायत्, 30 औलालायत्.

सोस्यादिरिति छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं छन्दश्चेत्तदादिर्भवति, यत्तदस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथाभेदे भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेन पुंसके स्वार्थे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragātha beginning therewith.

The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sāke of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragātha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre. Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तः which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Pankti". Similarly आनुभः, आगतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragātha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after' the

name of a metre' ? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha' ? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha. Pragâtha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगाथनात् पकार्पगानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vart.—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it ; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishtubha', जागत्तम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृज्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च शब्देभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थेभ्योऽस्योति षष्ठ्यर्थे संग्रामेऽभिधेये यथा. विहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here ; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case : and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This भद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = भाद्रः "A battle fought for Bhadrâ". So also सौभागः "a battle fought to gain Subhadrâ". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimâlâ warriors' So also स्यान्नाम्नः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle ?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य शानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रशिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्त-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यस्तदिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेत्तद्वति, यदस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्सा भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play ; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction,

denoting the name of a weapon ; ण is added to denote a play. Thus हण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = हण्डा "a game played with sticks". So मौष्टा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon' ? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खड्गः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by आ ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति जः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम्-क्रिया-इति-जः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घञन्तात्क्रियात्वाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थदस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे जः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix ज, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that', अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix-ज is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते — श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्येनपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti could have been obtained from the last sūtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus हण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते = हण्डपाता तिथिः; मौसलपाता तिथिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थदधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थं योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नेहन्तः, नेमिन्तः 'who knows the causes'. भौहूर्तः, भौत्पातः ॥

The word तद् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

ऋतूकथादिसूत्रान्तादठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतु-उक्थादि-सूत्रान्तात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतुविशेषणविभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यास्मिन्विषये ।
अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तात्कल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गत्रिपूर्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यष्ट्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुसूत्रलक्षणे च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकन्परोत्तरपरात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतपथेऽपि कन् पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sūtra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishtoma-Sacrifice'. वाजपेयिकः, औकथिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, सायहसूत्रिकः ॥

Ishti:—If a word ending in 'sūtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अण् is added and not ठक्. Thus: काल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sūtra'.

Vart:—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविधिकः, सार्वविधिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षणिकः, मातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vart:—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अङ्गविद्यामधीते = अङ्ग विद्या, क्षत्रविद्या, धर्मविद्या, सांसर्गविद्या, त्रैविद्या ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vart:—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावकीर्तिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः, वासवदक्षिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

Vart:—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, स्ववार्त्तिकः, ससंयहः, द्विवेदः पञ्चव्याकरणः ॥

Vart:—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after the words अनसू, लभ्य, and लक्षण; As अनसूनाममन्थ स्तमथीते = आनुसुकः, लाक्षिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

Vart:—The affix इक् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपदिकः ॥

Vart:—The affix पिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and षाट्पथ. As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी IV. i. 41), षट्पथिकः (f. षट्पथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अण्, as शातपथः and षाट्पथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 द्वि-
पदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यत्न, 13 धर्म, 14 च-

र्चा, 15 क्रमेतर, 16 भ्रक्षण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पर। क्रम) 19 संघट्ट संघात also संघट्ट 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 संमह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद. 26 अनुगुण.

क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VIL. 1. 1) पदकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात् इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmana'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmana book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुष्, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 अत इनि ढनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ढन् in the sense of मनुष्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

वसन्तादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यष्टक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 प्रथम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अयर्वन् 12 मीमन्,

प्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादध्येतृवेदित्वोरुत्पन्नस्य लुक्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also :—" There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer". The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pāṇini'.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिशलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीयं meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीयं formed with अण्, meaning who studies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, डीप् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by दाप्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phit Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधादुत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्नवति ॥

वार्तिकः ॥ संख्याप्रकृतोऽपि वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Ashtaka'. So also दशका वैयाघ्रपरीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकल्पाः ॥

Vart:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः, so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥ This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting श्रोक्त or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विषयाणि-(श्रोक्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रोक्तमहणमनुवर्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च श्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word श्रोक्त is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अभ्येतु or वेदितु ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a श्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अभ्येतु or

वेदित् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda announced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 : then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64 कठ-णिनि = कठ-णि-० (IV. 3. 107) ; कठ-णि-अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठाः "those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sūtra are : नौदाः (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Muda'. वैष्णवाः, आर्चाभिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalāda, Richāva, or Vājasaneyana". Similarly with words denoting a Brāhmaṇa-Text. Thus : ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भाल्लविनः (IV. 3. 105), शाव्याभिननः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिनः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brāhmaṇas announced by Tāṇḍya, Bhallava, Śātyāyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra ? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājnyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलभानि ॥ These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus कशपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kuśika" so also sūtra : as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नदाः. कर्मन्दिनः, कृशदिवनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple ; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैत्रीकल्पः ॥

The Quadruply-significant affixes.

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नास्ति ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नास्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमयास्मान्निति सप्तम्यये यथाविहितं प्रत्यया भवात्, यद्ययमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्त-इवति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशभेदस्त तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of—"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशेतन्नस्मिन् "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चातुरायिक "quadruple significant".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बाल्बजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. I. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासर्थान्निर्वृत्तमित्यास्मिन्निषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नस्मिन् of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्ब्येन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśāmbī, completed by Kuśāmba". Similarly साहस्री परिखा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य निवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशानामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means "his dwelling place". A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैवः "the country of

the Sîbis", औदितः ॥ कृञ्जनावान्निवासौ देशः=अर्जुनावः ॥ The word कृञ्जनावां=कृञ्जी-
नैर्येषां ॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थदूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशावा अदूर भवं=वैदिशा is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows. So also हैमवतश्च ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sūtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरञ् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद्यातिपदिकायथाविहितं समर्थविभक्तिदुक्कारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति, तदस्मिन्नस्तीत्येवमादि-
ष्वर्थेषु । अणोपवादः ॥

71. The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अञ् (IV. 1. 83). Thus भारडवम् from भारडु 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काक्षतवम् from कक्षतु, and कार्कटेलवम् from कर्कटेलु ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugar-canes near it'. Here we add the affix मनुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अञ् governs the six sūtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अञ् and अण् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बहुजङ्-अङ्गात्-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुजङ् अङ्गं यस्यासौ बहुजङ्गो मनुप् सन्ताद्यातिपदिकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः । अणो-
पवादः ॥

72. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मनुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुजङ् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix मनुष्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ् ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus देशकावतम्, सैधकावतम् ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe अहिमतम् वावमर्तम् ॥ Here though the word अहिम् ends in the affix मनुष्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming names of countries. In fact, the word बहुच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मनुष्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालावर्तम् by अण् ॥

बहुचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचः प्रातिपदिकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः कूपेष्वभिधेयेषु ॥

73. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्. Thus दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृतः कूपः = दीर्घवरत्रः "a well completed by Dirghavaratra". So also कापिलवरत्रः ॥

उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपाच्छेषाभिधेयस्वम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

74. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâsâ.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus दत्तः "a well completed by Datta", गौतमः &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâsâ, then the affix अण् will apply as दत्तः and गौतमः, the difference being in the accent. This sūtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्यवमारभ्यो ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः । अणोपहारः ॥

75. The affix अञ् comes after the words sankala &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् ॥ The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः ॥ Thus सौंकलः, पौंकलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम*, 4 उडुप, 5 उडुप (उडुप), 6 उडुप, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवभ, 10 सुवच, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुभूत*, 13 सुनेत्र, 14 सुमङ्गल*, 15 सुपङ्गल, 16 सुत*, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 शूतक (शूतका; शूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 21 पलास, 22 निवश, 23 गवश,

24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (वरज), 31 बहुल, 32 स-
द्योज, 33 अभिविक्त, 34 गोमृत्, 35 राजमृत्, 36 मल्ल, 37 मल्ल*, 38 माल. also 39 शर्मन्,
40 गृह, 41 भूत.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसात्वप्राप्तु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शात्व-प्राप्तु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्याप्रातिपदिकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे देशे राज्ये सात्वे प्राप्ति ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people ; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशेत्तन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67) : so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दात्तामित्रा "the city founded by Dattâmitra" (in Sauvîra). So also वैधुमाग्री (in Sâlva) काकन्दी, नाकन्दी, नाणिचरी, जारुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्त्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्त्वादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्वेवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवे नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛitti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars sūtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मण्ड, 4 खण्ड (कण्ड), 5 सेवानिन् (सेवानिन्), 6 कर्पूरिन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 मर्त, 9 कर्कश, 10 सकडीकर्ण (सवीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 ककन्धुनदी (कर्कन्धू), 14 गोह (गोह and गारि), 15 अहिस्तव्य 16 वृन् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीचात्वारणप्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after रोणी in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sūtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रोणः, आजकरोणः or सैहिकरोणः

कोपधाच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकारणप्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

79. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अम् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus कार्णवेष्टकः कृपः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, वैशङ्कवम् ॥

बुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरदभ्ययफक्फिञिञ्ज्यकठको अरीहणकृशाश्वदयकुमुद-
काशतृणप्रेक्षादमसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥
पदानि ॥ बुञ्-छण्-क-ठच्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ठञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिञ्-इञ्-ज्य-कक्-ठको; अ-
रीहण-कृशाश्व-दय-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अम-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुत-
ङ्गम-प्रागदिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुञ्जदयः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमाभि-
संबध्यते । तत्र यथासंख्यं सप्तदशाभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणेभ्यः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चातुर्थिकाः ॥ यथा—
(1) अरीहणादिभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कृशाश्वदिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋदयादिभ्यः कः
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काशादिभ्य इल्ः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणा-
दिभ्यः शः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अमनादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
(9) सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाशादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्र-
त्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14)
सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहा-
दिभ्यः कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चक प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the follow-
ing 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respec-
tively :—

1. बुञ् (=अक) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (=ईय) after कृशाश्व &c. 3. क after
ऋदय &c. 4. ढच् (=ईक) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल् after काश &c. 6. स (or श) after तृण
&c. 7. इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अमन् &c. 9. ढञ् (=एय) after सखि &c.
10. ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11. ब after बल &c. 12. फक् (=आयन) after पक्ष &c.
13. फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इञ् (इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15. ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन्
&c. 16. कक् (कै) after वराह &c. 17. ठक् (ईक) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes बुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words.
आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part
of the sūtra upto ठक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the
seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by
I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) अरीहणकम्, अरीहणकम् (2) काशादिभ्यः, आरीदीयः, (3) ऋदयकैः, न्यमोधकैः, (4)
कुमुदिकैः, शक्करिकैः, (5) वाशिलम्, काशिलम्, (6) तृणसैः, नडसैः, (7) पक्षिन्, हलकिन्, (8)
अमन्तैः, (9) सखिबन्, सखिदत्तेबन्, 10 सांकाश्यान्, काम्पिद्यान्, (11) बल्यैः, कल्यैः, (12) पा-
क्षावर्जैः, सौषावर्जैः, (13) कौर्णवनिः, वसिष्ठानिः, (14) सौतङ्गनिः, मौनित्तिः, (15) वराह-
(16) वाराहकम्, पालाशकम्, and (17) lastly कुमुदिकम् ॥

The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुसादि (14), and वराहादि (3), Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 हुषण, 3 हुहण*, 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्टायण, 9 औष्ट्रायण*, 10 वैगर्तायण, 11 मैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायण (also वैमत्तायण), 14 गौमतायण (गौ), 15 सौमतायण, 16 सौसायण, 17 धौमतायण*, 18 सौमायण*. 19 ऐन्द्रायण*, 20 कौन्द्रायण*, 21 खाडायण, 22 खाण्डित्वायण, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विपथ, 25 विपाश, 26 उड्डण्ड, 27 उड्डचचन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृत्स्न (काश), 31 जाम्बवत (वन्त), 32 शिशापा, 33 रैवत (रैवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर, 40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K.), 41 हलत्*, 42 भलन्दन*, 43 खण्डु*, 44 कनल* (कलन), 45 यज्ञवल्त*. 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायण.

1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेदमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश*, 7 रोमश*, 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक*, 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्चल*, 13 सुर्वचल*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सडुश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता), 24 अवनत, 25 विकुन्धास (v. 1. कुविधास; विकुधास), 26 पराशर*, 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्*, 29 मौल्य, 30 शूकर* (मौल्यशूकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अयावस्

1 ऋश्य, 2 न्यमोध, 3 शर (शिरीष), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. 1. निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगृह, 11 उपगृह, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत*, 15 वेदमन्*, 16 उचारादमन्, 17 अदमन्*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह, 23 अरुडु*, 24 परिवंश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 हण्ड*, 29 परिवृच, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यमोध, 4 इकट (इत्कट, उत्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास*, 11 शकट*, 12 कच*, 13 मधु*, 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व*, 16 अश्वत्थ, 17 बल्लज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 रश्माम. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 त्रिक, 25 कत.

1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन, 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छल*, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस), 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर*, 18 मधुर*, 19 ग्रह (गुह) 20 कपिस्थ*, 21 जतु, 22 शीपालः 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण*, 8 बिल*, 9 पुल*, 10 फल*, 11 अर्जुन*, 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 बुस. 17 जन, 18 लव.

1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका. 4 ध्रुवका, 5 शिपका 6 न्यमोध, 7 इकट (इर्कट) 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट*, 11 कूप*, 12 बुक*, 13 पुक*, 14 पुट*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप*, 17 यवाष* (d. i. यवास), 18 ध्रुवका*, 19 गत*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य*. 22 बुधका, 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक.

1 अदमन्, 2 यथ (also युष), 3 ऊष (रूष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नद, 6 र्ध्व, 7 वृन्द, 8 गुह*, 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कौट (काट), 13 पाम (पाम!), 14 कन्द*, 15 कान्द*, 17 गह्व*, 18 गुड*, 19 कूण्डल*, 20 पीन*. 21 गह्व*.

1 सखि, 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल
7 पल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक*, 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर,
13 वासव*, 14 वीर*, 15 पूर*, 16 वज्र*, 17 कुशीरक*, 18 सोहर (शोहर; सोकर), 19 सरक (सकर),
20 सरस, 21 समर*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल,
29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 काम्पिल, 3 कम्भीर (कम्भर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक*, 7 सूर*, 8
सुपान्यन् (rightly सुपायिन्), पन्थ (सक्थः) च, 9 ब्रूप (ब्रूथ), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग*, 12 नासा*, 13
पलित*, 14 अनुनाश*, 15 अभ्रमन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश*, 19 कुम्भ*, 20 शीषे*, 21 विरत
(चिरन्त; विरतः), 22 समल*, 23 सीर*, 24 पञ्जर*, 25 मन्ध*, 26 नल*, 27 रोमन*, 28 लोमन्*,
29 पुलिन*, 30 सुपरि*, 31 कटिपि, 32 सकर्णक*, 33 वृष्टि*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर*,
37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 चुल (बुल), 3 नल*, 4 दल*, 5 दद* 6 लकुल*, 7 डरल*, 8 पुल*, 9 मल*,
10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पक्ष, 2 तुक्ष*, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड*, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बालिक), 7 बलिक*, 8 चित्र
9 अस्ति*, 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल
(सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिद्वन् (स्वन्). 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्*, 21 मकर*,
22 लोमक, 23 शीर्ष*, 24 निवात*, 25 पाक*, 26 सिंहक, 27 अंकुश*, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक
(हंसका), 30 हंसक*, 31 कुत्त*, 32 बिल*, 33 खिल*, 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कल*. 37 सकर्णक
(सकण्डक), 38 अश्मन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 ब्रूपर (डुपर), 6 आनडुश (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य,
8 स्किन्न, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश, 14 आपण्डी-
वन्त (आण्डीवन्), 15 अङ्ग*, 16 जैव*, 17 आनक*, 18 अलुश, 19 शल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

1 सुतगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्), 3 विप्रचित (चित्), 4 महाचित्*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन*,
7 भवेत्, 8 खडिक (भडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विप्र; 11 वीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 इवन्, 14 अजिर,
15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विमह*,

1 मगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मवदिन् (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव),
6 गवित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्शर*, 10 कोविदार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निबद्ध, 6 बलाह*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विहन्ध,
9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न*, 12 बाहु, 13 खदिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दशमाम, 5 अभ्वत्थ, 6 शालमलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनि-
स्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 वासकुन्ध*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्ध ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्नामनीति यथातुर्यिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुभभवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sūtra are added by the reading together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means : (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः = पंचालः । So also कुरवः, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, वज्जाः, मगधाः, सुह्याः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples : औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not *names* of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उत्पन्नस्य चातुरार्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā", So also शुङ्गी, शाल्मल्यः ॥

The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकबदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 शुङ्गी, 3 शाल्मलि, 4 शुण्डी*, 5 श्याण्डी*, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदो, पूर्वण गोदो, अपरेण गोदो), 9 आलिङ्गवायन, 10 जानपदी (जालपदी; जालपद) 11 जम्बू*, 12 पुष्कर*, 13 चम्पा*, 14 पम्पा*, 15 बल्यु*, 16 उज्जयिनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरसा) 21 गोमती*, 22 बलभी*, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कटुक), 24 शिरीषा: 25 काञ्ची, 26 सशण्डी, 27 वणिक्, 28 वैणिक, Is an आच्छातेगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादुत्पन्नस्य चातुरार्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must *necessarily* take the affixes षच् and कक् taught therein: for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शर्करैश्च, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादृक् छ इत्येतां प्रत्ययो भवतचातुरार्थिकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्करैश्च, शर्करिकैश्च (formed by ठक्), शर्करिकैश्च (formed by कक्), शर्करिकैश्च (formed by ठक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधयायां मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

85. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, हुमती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैरथी, which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

86. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As मधुमान्, विसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (कीरि) 8 हिम, 9 क्रिशरा, 10 शर्याण (शर्याणा) 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दली, 13 शर, 14 इटका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 भासन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शालका, 20 आमिषी (आमिषी) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (मुष्टि इष्टि) 24 रुष्य 25 तक्षशिला, 26 खड (खडा) 27 वट, 28 वेद (वेदा) 29 रम्य, 30 कृक्ष, 38 मरुत्, 32 शर्वाघाट.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो इमतुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-इमतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो इमतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महिषाघातं वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix इमतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुद्धान्, नडुगन्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाङ् डुलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादाङ्-डुलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादाङ्-डुलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

88. The affix डुलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नडुलम् and शाडुलम् ॥

शिखाया वलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखाया-वालच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as मनुष् V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That वलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses:

As उत्करीवम्, क्षेपरीवम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संफल, 3 शकर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलामूल, 6 अभ्रम्, 7 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण) 8 खलार्जि-
न, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक*, 12 वैवण, 13 पिशुक, 14 अभ्रस्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुर (शकाक्षुर
st. काश, क्षुर) 17 भस्मा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्वा, 20 अजिर (अजिन) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त
(क्षान्त) 24 स्तरि, 25 शूर्पण्य, 26 द्यावनाय, 27 नैवाक्य (नैव, बक) 28 तृण, 29 वृक्ष
30 शाक*, 31 बलाश, 32 विजिगीषा*, 33 अनेक, 34 भातप, 35 फल*, 36 सं-
पर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक*, 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निक्षान्त, 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचा-
बक, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार, 49 विशाल, 50 वेध, 51 अराहण, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर
54 मन्त्रार्ह, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष) 57 भार्गवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59
अन्य, 60 मञ्च, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चातुरार्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृष्णाया ह्रस्वत्वं । तक्षन्लोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीयम्; डक्षकीयम्, &c.

The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : c. g. कुञ्चकीयम्, तक्षकीयम् ॥

1 नड, 2 डक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेन, 6 वतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाया) हृस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोऽयम् । यानि त ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः; शेषेऽर्थे ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification", the last, be called शेष or the remainder"—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष्; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रावण, औपनिषदः 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, शर्षपः from शृष, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चानुरं 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चानुर्दृशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; औतूखलः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley; आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), आगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus लोहः means 'born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)"

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपारात्-घञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपार इत्येताभ्यां अवारपारं चलादित्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीतादपीभ्यते ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताच्च ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इङ् is substituted for घ, and ईन् for ख (VII. 1. 2). Thus राष्ट्रिङ्: 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीङ्: 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

Vart.—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीङ्: 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीङ्: 'belonging to the other bank', पारवारारीङ्: 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sūtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is घ, and the last where of are ख्यु (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's Laghu Kaumudi).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दाद्य खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन्) come after the word 'grāma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कत्त्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्त्रि-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्त्रि इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपञ्च ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (पयक) comes after the words कत्त्रि &c.

As कत्त्रियकः, ओम्भेयकः &c.

1 कत्त्रि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 वर्मती, (वर्मण्वती) 11 उख्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुल्याया (कुल्याया) यलोपञ्च, 14 वञ्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिप्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-प्रीवाभ्यः, श्व-आसि-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिमीवाशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं भक्तञ्च असि भलङ्कार इत्येतेषु ज्ञातादिष्वर्थेषु ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The same affix ढक् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and मीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25. &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौशेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), भवेयकः = a necklacc. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and भवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक् (एयं) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नदीये, 'pertaining to a river', मोहेयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 श्रावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी* 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खाद्री, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (नावा) 13 शाल्वा (सा-ल्वा) 14 शार्वा*, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडबाया इवे, 17 शाल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्व-नगरियम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पौरेयम्, वानेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्वक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinā', 'paschāt' and 'purās' the affix 'tyak' (त्यं) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पश्चात्यः 'occidental', पौरस्त्यः 'oriental'.

कापिद्याः षफक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिद्याः, षफक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दात् षफक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ बाह्यलुर्विपरिभवेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kāpīś', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses; (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

Vart.—So also after बाहलि, उरि and परि as, बाहलयनी, औरीयनी, पारीयनी ॥ This debars वृष् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्गोरमनुष्येऽण् च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्गोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च-(ष्फक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्गुशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्ष्फक्च शेषिकोऽमनुष्येभिधये ॥

100. After the word रङ्गु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As रङ्गुवो गोः or रङ्गुवायणो गोः but रङ्गुवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रङ्गु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysa is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as रङ्गुवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्गु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृष् of IV. 2. 125, and वृष् is debarred by वृष् of IV. 2. 119, and वृष् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राच् अपाच् उदच् प्रत्येभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ।

101. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाच् means south.

कन्थायायुक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्थायाः उक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाशब्दादुक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्तिकः ॥

वर्णो बुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णो-बुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाया इत्येव । वर्णो या कन्था तस्या बुक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix बुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varnu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varnu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्तिकम् ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययान् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

Kārikā अमेहव्रतसिन्धेयस्त्यश्चविधिर्योऽव्ययात्स्मृतः ।

निनिभ्यां ध्रुवगत्याश्च प्रवेशो नियमे तथा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यङ्नेर्ध्रुवे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निसो गते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आविसदृच्छन्दसि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याणोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दुरदित्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उचारादहम् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables :—अमा 'together', इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and च (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कुत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्तत्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: आपादिष्टः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vṛddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, आरातीय ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, निस्त्यम् = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निष्टयः "Chandalas &c who have gone out of the caste".

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to the word आविस् in the Vedas: As, आविष्टो वर्द्धते ॥

Vārt:—The affix ञ comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vārt:—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरित्यः पथिकः ॥

Vārt:—The affix आहस् comes after उचर e. g. औचराहः ॥

ऐषमोह्यः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यत-
रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

105. The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'svas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'śvas' takes the augment तुद् also, hence the above three forms.

तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-ञौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्यथासंख्यमञ् अ इत्येतां प्रत्ययो भवतः शेषिकोः ॥

106. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ञ comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पादुलतीरम्, वार्करूप्यम्, शैवरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in अ take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बाहुर्लूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुर्लूप्यम् formed by अण् ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-अः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकादसंज्ञा विषयाद् अः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

107. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix अ is added, forming the feminine in आ ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला+अ = पूर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly दक्षिणशालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वशु-
कामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वशुकामशमैः (VII. 3. 14). The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पत्र+इषु-
कामशमौ; "Ishukāmshami-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरैषुकामशमी: "who is in Ishukāmashamī-in-the-West".

The word 'वै' is used in the sūtra for the sake of perscison; for had the sūtra been दिक्पूर्वसंज्ञार्था, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरूपविधि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदान्मात्रादञ् प्रत्ययौ भवति शैषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्रे, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पौर्वमद्रे: f. द्वी; अपरमद्रे: f. द्वी ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्रे ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्चबहुचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्गृहणं निवृत्त्य। उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् बहुचोन्तोदात्ताद् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debarbs अण् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, नौण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe नायुरम् formed by अण्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of mote than two syllables"? Obseve ध्वजी - ध्वजम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone?" Observe शार्करोधनम् ॥ Here धा is udātta by VI. 1. 194, taking लिट् accent.

प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् ॥ ११० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थोत्तरपदान् पलद्यादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

110. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अण् of the last aphorism. Thus माद्रीप्रस्थः, माहकीप्रस्थः, पालवः, पार्षदः, नैलिनकः, चैयातकः ॥

In the class Paladyâdi, those words which denote villages of वाहीक, will not take इञ् or ञिच् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गौडी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladi class, and consequently it does not take the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word वाहीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladi class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sūtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीद (मलकीद) 6 बहुकीद (बाहुकीद) 7 जालकीद, 8 कमलकीद, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलमिदा, 11 गौडी, 12 नैतकी (नैतकी), 13 पार्षदा, 14 रसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पदचर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि) 18 यकुलोम, 19 सकुलोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तर्हि संव्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे यः प्रत्ययो ॥ १११ ॥ तस्तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus कण्वाः "the pupils of Kaṇva". गौकक्षाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word कण्व, when it means कण्व देवतास्य, forms its secondary derivative कण्वीयम् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargādi. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकक्ष are कौण्व्य and गौकाक्ष्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. कौण्व्य + अण् = कौण्व्यः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इञश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् विहितस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दक्षि, from which दक्षा: "the pupils of Dākshi"; दक्षा:; मादक्षा: ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गनिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गनीयन् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्रव्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्रव्यचः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु (अण्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्रव्यः प्रतिपदिकाव्याच्यभरतगोत्रादिप्रस्तावण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाराः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दक्षा: from दक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sūtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with वेदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See. II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vṛiddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule. The Vṛiddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from गार्ग्य we

have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वान्सीयः, शालीयः, मालीयः ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in सीर and रूप्य (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क् (110). Thus.

इह—इहस्य; but आरात्—आरातीयः करवतीर—कारवतीरम्; but वायसतीर—वायसतीरीयः
चाणारूप्य—चाणारूप्यम्; but माणिरूप्य—माणिरूप्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर—शैवपुरम्; but वाड-
वकर्ष—वाडवकर्षीयः, निलीनक—नैलीनकः ; but औलूक—औलूकीयः ॥

भवतश्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतः, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धान् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word because it belongs to tyadādi class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावल्कः; भवत् + छस् = भवदीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शतृ to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यश्चञ्चिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठञ्-चिठौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्चञ्चिद् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आपसादिपूर्वपक्षात्कालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठञ् and चिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes ठञ् and चिद्, the इ is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठञ् will take डीप् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take टप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिक्की, बैदिका or बैदिकी ॥

The word वृद्धान् is to be read in to this śūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thus देवदत्तिकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vāhika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Q. In the Māhābhāṣya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vṛiddha, and it gives example of देवदत्तीयाः or देवदत्ताः ॥ So then देवदत्तः is a Vṛiddha word and will take these affixes,

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahābhāṣya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix डम् and झिद् ॥

Vārt :—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, और्ध्वकालिकी or °की, तात्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काशि, 2 चेदि (वैदी) 3 सांघाति*, 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुल-
द, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुसामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 कुरण, 12 गोवासन (गौधाशन) 13 भारद्वाज*, 14
अरिन्द, 15 अरिच*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दक्षप्राम (सप्तप्राम) 18 शौवावतान (सौधावतान) 19 बुधराज,
20 वृषराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन*, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 सप्तमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र*, 26 सोममित्र*, 27 छा-
गमित्र*, 28 सधमित्र*, 29 आपसादिपूर्वपदान् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि,
32 भौलिकि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (उञ् झिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाजिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्च झिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः सौषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes उञ् and झिद् come, in the remain-
ing senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of
Vāhika.

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix
छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्यविकी or मान्यविका ॥

विभाषोऽशीनरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उशीनरेषु (उञ्-झिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उशीनरेषु वे वाहीकग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा डम् झिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

118. The affixes उञ् and झिद् come optionally in
the remaining senses, after Vṛiddha words denoting Vāhika
villages situated in Uśīna.

Thus भाङ्गजालिकी, लिङ्गा and लीङ्गा; so also सौरर्षनिकी, सौरर्षनिका and सौ-
रर्षनीया ॥

सौर्देशे उञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, देशे, उञ् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उषर्षान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सौषिकः ॥

119. The affix उञ्, comes in the remaining senses,
after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been
understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating
it in the next.

Thus नैषादकपुङ्गवः, पादरजपुङ्गवः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a coun-
try'? Observe पादवाः 'the pupils of पद' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of वृत् and अन्व both were current ; hence the repetition of वृत् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of वृत् from the last sūtra without drawing the anuvṛitti of अन्व ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(वृत्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देश इत्येव । उवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्प्राचाम्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्वृत् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

120. The affix वृत् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word ending in ङ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus आढकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix वृत् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a nivṛan or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have मल्लवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्बुञ् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधाद्-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाद् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

121. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, हेरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांकाश्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्ताच्च-(बुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्ताद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् वृद्धाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

122. The affix बुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्सीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलवहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix बुञ् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope.

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधासीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

123. The affix वृज् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ Thus पादलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, माकन्दी—माकन्दकः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचाय 'of the East-folk'? Observe सत्तामित्रीयः formed by छ. The त् in ईत् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतदवध्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्-अवध्योः च-(वृज्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाज्जनपदवाचिनस्तदवधिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

124. The affix वृज् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तदवधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आभिसारकः and आदर्शकः are examples of जनपद ॥ And औपुष्टकः and इयामायनकः from औपुष्ट and इयामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 to words like त्रिगर्त which is an arid desert : as त्रिगर्तकः ॥ The word तदवधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विषयात्-(वृज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् वृद्धाच्च जनपदात् तदवधिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

125. The affix वृज् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तदवधि are to be read into the aphorism. This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिङ्गकः ॥ Similarly अजमीढाः and अजक्रन्दाः are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them आजमीढकः and आजक्रन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus रवर्कः and जाम्बकः from रवर्गः and

जाम्बाः ॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom: कालंजराः—
कालंजराः, वैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशाः ॥

The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sūtra to indicate that Vṛiddha-words which would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra are not debarred by this sūtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as तत्कौण्डिन्याय; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyāya is thus explained in Padamanjari:—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धान् बुम् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये वृद्धिदानः, इह तु बहुवचनविषयो विशेषेऽवृद्धाद् बुम्, यथा कौण्डिन्ये तत्कदानं, ततश्च बहुवचनादपि वृद्धाद् बुम्प्राप्ते आरभ्यमाणोऽवृद्धाद् बुम् वृद्धाद् बुम्-वाधकः स्यादित्यपि शब्देन समुचीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगर्तोत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-अग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त-उत्तरप-
दात्-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्चाद् वृद्धाद्वृद्धाच्चबुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

126. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debar कच्छ and अण् ॥ As हारुकच्छकः, पेंपलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्रकः, वधुजाग्रकः, ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाकगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(बुम्) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

127. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debar अण् &c. धौमकः, खाण्डकः &c. The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken बुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken बुम् by 124 ante; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = विदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyās". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रिको मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not: सामुद्रश्च "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 बडण्ड (खडण्ड and खण्ड) 3 क्षासन, 4 अर्जुनाव (अर्जुनाद्) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 महिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अटस्थली*, 10 मद्रकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 वाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 साचासाह, 17 क्षण, 18 (क्षिण्य) 19 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्धः मित्र, बल) 20 भक्षाली*, 21 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूलं) 22 ब्राह्मण, 23 ब्रमाहाव, 24 संस्कीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 वर्ज्य, 27 गर्त (वर्धगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माठर, 30 पायेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (बल्ली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्य (अवयात् तीर्य) 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 क्षिणापय, 46 साकेत. 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानबल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(बुञ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगराद्ब्रह्मवृञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गात्रे पक्ष्मालिपुसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौराहि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेह लिखितं चित्रं मनेनेचविकाशि बत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix बुञ् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागराः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brāhmaṇas'.

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्यब्रह्मवृञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पथ्यध्यावन्त्यावविहारमनुष्ये हस्तिप्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix बुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ञ्. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vart :—It should be stated rather that the affix बुञ् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim. 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः अध्यायः न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vart :—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as आरण्यः or आरण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As आरण्यः वन्यः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(बुञ्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

130. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवैः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरैः ॥ These words denote जनपद or inhabited countries, and therefore by sūtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix बुञ्. The present sūtra makes the application of बुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix बुञ् by virtue of sūtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवक-मत्स्य इति ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृजिशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars बुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

कोषधादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधात्-अण् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात् आतिपरिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आषिकः "born in कपिकाः" So also नाडिषिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in क्, and would have otherwise taken बुञ् by IV. 2. 119. Thus देशकः "born in देशाकु" ॥ The word देश is understood in this sūtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येताभ्यां कच्छादिभ्योऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word देशे is understood here. This debars बुम् &c. Thus काच्छः, सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c. The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sūtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes बुम् also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्ण, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुषण्ड (अण्, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलुतर (कुलून) 16 इड्डु॥

मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्बुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्थयोः बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix बुम् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch'. काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. काच्छिका छडा ॥ Similarly सैन्धवको मनुष्यः, सैन्धवक्रमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्, सैन्धविका छडा ॥

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छा गौः 'The cow of Kutch'. सैन्धवो वार्णवः ॥

अपदातौ साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातौ-साल्वात्-(बुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदातावेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे साल्वशब्दाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix बुम् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वक्रमस्य हसितं जल्पितं &c. But साल्वः पशति ब्रजति 'the Sālva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वौ च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वशब्दाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

136. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus सालुको नाः "the cows born in Salva". सालुका ह्यवाहूः 'the barley gruel of Sálva'. In other cases we have सालुम् ।

गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तोत्तरपदादेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second-tern:

This debars अण् ॥ The word देहो is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes टम् and त्रिच् of sūtra 117 *ante*. Thus वृकगर्तीयम्, वृगालगर्तीयम्, ह्यवादिगर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्चः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः, 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यम-ध्वनं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रय औसीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कृक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छ्ण comes after the words वेणु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वेणकीयम्, वेवकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रास्थकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 गह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्यमभ्यर्षणाच्चरणे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधम शाख 13 उत्तमशाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इष्टुम, 21 इष्टुनीक (इष्टुनी) 22 अवस्थान्दन (अवस्थान्दी and अवस्थान्द) 23 कामग्रस्थ, 24 खाडावन (खाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी) 25 कटि-रणि (कावेराणि and कामवेराणि) 26 लावेराणि*, 27 सौमित्रि*, 28 सौशिरि, 29 आसुत्*, 30 देवशर्नि (देवशर्मन्) 31 औति, 32 आर्हति, 33 आमित्रि, 34 व्याडि, 35 बैजि (वैजि), 36 आभ्यश्चि, 37 आ-भृशश्चि, 38 शौज्जि, 39 आमिशर्नि, (अभिशर्मन्) 40 भौजि, 41 वारादकि (आरादकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षेमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्), 44 आभ्यस्थि, 45 औद्ग्राहमानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्दवि*, 48 दन्ताम्*, 49 हंस*, 50 तन्त्वम्*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुख्यपार्श्वतलोर्लोपः (also मुख्यतीय and पार्श्व तीय), 54 जनपयोः कुक्ञ्च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादिभ्यश्छण्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपल्लवीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारान्तदेशे भवति छञ्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches substitution: for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तलोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-लोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धादेशवाचिनो ङक इक् इत्येवमन्तात् लकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having क as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अण् of Sūtra 132 ante: as well as the affixes ordained by Sūtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—भारोहणीयम्, द्रौणणीयम् ॥ इकः—आभ्यवृत्तिकीयम्, शास्त्रदिकीयम् ॥

लोपधातः—कैटिजिह्वीयम्, आरोग्यणीयम् ॥

Vart---The words सौसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in उक् ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, नौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेणुकीयम् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाद्युत्तरपदादेशवाचिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vridhdha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as इम् and जिइ of 117 ante Thus राक्षिकन्धीयम्, माक्षिकिकन्धीयम्, राक्षिपलदीयम्, माक्षिकिपलदीयम्, राक्षिनगरीयम्, माक्षिकिनगरीयम्, राक्षिग्रामीयम्, माक्षिकिग्रामीयम्, राक्षिह्रदीयम्, माक्षिकिह्रदीयम् ॥

पर्वताच्च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा अमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाअमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुदकम् or पार्वतमुदकम् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजेश्वाचिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvâjas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-
खञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः चकाराच्छञ् ॥

1. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word वेषे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण्, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vridhdha, as they belong to Tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्-अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV. 3. 2) = यौष्माकः युष्मद्-छ = युष्मद्-ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्-खञ् = युष्माक-ईन (IV. 3. 2) = यौष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीयः and आस्माकीनः ॥

तस्मिन्नाणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आ-
स्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नित साक्षाद्विहितः खञ् निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकुञ्छः । तस्मिन्नाणि अणि च युष्मदस्म-
दीययासंख्यं युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावदशौ भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (1) तस्मिन् खञि युष्मदस्मदोयुष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (S) ततोऽणि च ॥ i. e. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

तवकममकावेकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो यथासंख्यं तस्मिन्खञि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', नामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and नामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will त्वरीयः, मरीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix तु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

अर्धाद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्द्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्धम् 'belonging to half.'

Vart:—When it has a prior term the affix इत् is used. As बाल्यार्द्धिकम्, (बाल्यर्थवस्तु = बाल्यं) ॥ गौतमाद्धिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाच्चाध्याद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम्, अवरार्द्धम्, अधमार्द्धम्, उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by'? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra.

would have been परावराधमोत्तमेऽधोऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c."

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure,' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always ठञ् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix ठञ् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपदाद् ठञ् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्थ preceded by any word would have taken ठञ्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदाद् ठञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ्-च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च शैषिकः ॥

6. And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्धम् पौर्वाधिकम्, दक्षिणार्धम् or दक्षिणार्द्धिकम् ॥

The word पद is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् ठञ्च, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes ठञ् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and एगध जातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदकदेशाद् अठञौ ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अञ्-ठञौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनां जनपदकदेशवाचिनां प्रातिपदिकादिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्ताद् अठञौ प्रत्ययो भवतः शैषिकौ यतोपवादाः ॥

7. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खलुस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धाः or पौर्वाधिकः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दक्षिणार्धाः or दक्षिणार्द्धिकः ॥ The word पौर्वाद्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्ने भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यशब्दान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ आदिधेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ अवोधसोर्लोपश्च ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars अञ् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

Vart:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिमः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vart:—So also after the words अवस् and अधस्, the final स् being elided. As अवसम, अधम ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यमसात्साम्प्रतिके जातायां प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिशीघ्रे नाति ह्रस्वे मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्ये वैद्यकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्यास्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम्-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुसमुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken अञ्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken हुञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वीप्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वीप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वीपकम् or द्वीपम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhâva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालाट्ठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपादकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अञ् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' आर्द्धमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवल्लारिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कादम्बपुष्पिकं, त्रैहिमालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

आद्धे शरदः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्धे-शरदः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix उञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आद्धे ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not श्रद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शरदिकं आद्धं 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

त्रिभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (उञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दाद् उञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix उञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शरदिको रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शरदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शरद् दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This उञ् debars the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (उञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix उञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'nisâ', and 'pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 ante, the उञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद्-च-उञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुडागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix उञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains उञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद्-उञ् = शौक्स्-तु-उञ् (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्त्वः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्युतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः,

अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars ठञ् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्धयम् (2) वैष्णवम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैषम, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival', as संवत्सरं फलं or पर्व ॥

1 सन्धिवेल, 2 सन्ध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 त्रयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष ण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दादेः ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix ण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛish' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यङ्ग ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ङ्ग ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाद्ङ्ग प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix ङ्ग comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्षिकमनुत्पन्नम् । The ङ्ग has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दासि ठञ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाच्च छन्दासि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varshâ' takes the affix ठञ् in the remaining senses.

This debars ङ्ग. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृत्तु ॥ The word ऋतु here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्ताच्च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दासि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुम माधवम् वासन्तिकान्तु ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहदच्च सहस्रदच्च हेमन्तिकावृत्तु ॥ The making of two separate Sūtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ एदा ने ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निभयोगेन चास्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्तस् वासः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्तमुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमान्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमनम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राहेप्रगेव्ययेभ्यः-ट्यु-ट्युलौ-तुद्-च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राहे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-ट्यु-ट्युलौ-तुद्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्थोऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्युप दुपलौस्तस्तयोस्तुद्-च ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ चिरपरुपरारिभ्यस्तो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ प्रगत्य छन्दसि गणोपमम् ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ अयमपञ्चाङ्गिमच् ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ अन्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राहे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालाह् is understood here also. Thus सायं-तुद् = सायं-तुद्-तुद् = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राहेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रागेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in न् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सायं ॥ The present सायं is derived from the root से by adding the affix घञ् ॥ It always ends in ण् when these affixes are added. The word चिर always ends in ण् ॥ प्राहणे and प्रणे always end in ण् ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are शेषातनम् 'belonging to the night' दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

Vart :—The affix ङ comes after the words चिर, परुन् and परारि ॥ As चिरङ्गम्, परुङ्गम्, and परारिङ्गम् ॥

Vart :—The ण of प्रण in elided in the Chhandas before this affix ङ. as. प्रङ्गम् ॥

Vart :—The affix डिमञ् comes after अयम्, आदि and पश्चाद्; as, अयिमञ्, आदिमञ् and पश्चिमञ् ॥

Vart :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमञ् ॥

The defference between त्थु and त्थुल is in accent, Thus सायन्तन and सायन्तन, चिरन्तन and चिरन्तन, प्राहणन्तन and प्राहणन्तन, प्रणन्तन, प्रणन्तन, दिवातन and दिवातन, शेषातन and शेषातन ॥

विभाषापूर्वाह्णापराह्णाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्णाभ्याम् (दुश्च-दुश्चलौ-तुद्-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णापराह्णशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा दुष्दुष्चलौ प्रत्ययो भवत, स्तुद् च तथैरागमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल and their augment is तुद् ॥

In the alternative वृत्त of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णैतनम्, अपराह्णैतनम् with त्थु, or पूर्वाह्णिकम् अपराह्णिकम् with त्थान्. With त्थुल. we have पूर्वाह्णैतनम् and अपराह्णैतनम् ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णैतनम् or पूर्वाह्णैतनः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणाद्यो घादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामन्तः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थाविभक्तयश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तत्रोक्तं सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण् &c. घ &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus त्रुज्जातः = त्रुज् + अण् = त्रुजः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapāna'.

शास्त्रियः (IV. 2. 93), क्षवारपातीयः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), माम्भ्यः (IV. 2. 94), यामीणः (IV. 2. 94), काच्यकः (IV. 2. 95) औग्मेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृद्वात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृद् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The ष् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषिकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुन् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुन् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका इर्भाः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शारदका मुद्गाः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारदं सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28; The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठप् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अण् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix बुन् comes optionally after the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्याकः or अमावास्यः ॥ This affix बुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वान् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावस्यकः or अमावस्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the बुन् and अण् already given. Thus अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः, अमावास्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and अमावस्यः ॥

सिन्धुवपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुशब्दादपकरशब्दाच्च कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhâdi class and takes अण् and बुञ् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुवपकरशब्दाभ्यां अण्प्रत्ययसंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and आपकरः ॥

अविष्टाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखापादाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अविष्टा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अपादा-बहुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविष्टादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्ये लुग् भवति ॥

वाल्मीकी ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे चित्ररवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ फल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां दानौ वक्तव्यौ ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अविष्ठाषाढाभ्यां छणपि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishthâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'syâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâdhâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus अविष्ठासु जातः = अविष्ठा: 'produced under Śravishthâ'. So also फल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

Vart:—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revati and Rohiṇi, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. I. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vart:—The affixes ट and ञ् come respectively after फल्गुनी and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी (IV. I. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vart:—The affix लृक् also comes after 'Śravishthâ' and 'ashâdhâ' As अविष्ठीयः and अषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-
च्च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालाशब्दस्य खरशालशब्दाज्जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लृक् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting born therein after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अभ्यस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदभ्वयुक्छतमिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजि-
त्-अभ्वयुक्-शतमिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लृक् भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'satabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अभ्वयुक् or आभ्वयुजः, शतमिषज् or शतमिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्व जातायै प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुग्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थाकृतादिष्वयैषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus कौत्रः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायम्भवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्तातिपदिकात्प्रायम्भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus कौत्रः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = कुत्र प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sūtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sūtra तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायम्भवः be explained as अनिश्चयः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवेः-ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिव्यः शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायम्भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajānu,' 'upakarna,' and 'upanīvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्तातिपदिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आष्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word ज्ञात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. अवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुप्ते संभवति = सौप्तः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna.' So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाद्दञ् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशाद्वाद् दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix दञ् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however कूट and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sūtra एण्या-दञ् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाद् would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुण्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुण्यत्-पच्यमा-

नेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिवर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good,' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः शीतशरमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुण्यन्ति = वासन्यः कुन्वल्ताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', मैत्र्यः पाटलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः "the grains that ripen in autumn". मैत्र्या यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c.

उत्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिति च । सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुत्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' ग्रेष्मा ग्रीष्मः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप्यन्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

आश्वयुज्या बुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥

45. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ढञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या सुप्ताः = आश्वयुज्यक्रा माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Āśvini. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-वसन्ताद्-अन्यतरस्याम्- (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मवसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥ ऋत्वणोपवादः ॥

46. The affix बुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grīshma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus ग्रेष्मम् or ग्रेष्मकम् सत्त्वम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमुणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थकालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादेयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमुणं चेत् तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमुणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month". आर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया शिक्षा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्बुन् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, बुसाद्, बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यवबुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमुणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलपी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलपी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवहुस 'barley-chaff'. Thus कलपि-निकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवहुसकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमादुवुञ्च ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, वुञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमादुवुञ्च शब्दाभ्यां वुञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix वुञ्च comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debars the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मदेयमृणं = ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वुञ्च would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न दत्तम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ठञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीशब्दाभ्यां ठञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरात्कलपवर्णोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ठञ्च also (as well as वुञ्च) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrāhāyaṇī' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं = सांवत्सारिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ठञ्च when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः सप्तमीसमर्थत्वात्पठिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्राशोषः or प्राशोषिकः (I V. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say मृगः 'a beast'? Observe निशारां व्याहरति उलूकः ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as : "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थ्याकालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थे सोढञ्चेत्तद्वति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that: सोढम्=अस्य=अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमभ्यननं=निशा "reading by night". तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य=नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्राज्ञोषिकः or प्राज्ञोषः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थ्यान् ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛtiti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sūtra तत्र जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, सुप्ते भवः=सौप्तः "who stays in Srughna". मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

The repetition of तत्र in the sūtra though its annuvṛtiti could have been drawn from the previous sūtras, is for the sake of stopping the annuvṛtiti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उदकात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars भण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवं=दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुखं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघनम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उक्क्या=रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदको^१मत्स्यः ॥

१ दिश, २ वर्ग, ३ पृग, ४ गण, ५ पक्ष, ६ धाय्य (धाय्या) ७ मित्र, ८ मेधा, ९ अन्तर, १० पथि-
न्, ११ रहस्, १२ अलीक, १३ उखा, १४ साक्षिन्, १५ देश*, १६ आदि, १७ अन्त, १८ मुख, १९ जघन, २०
मेघ, २१ द्यूय, २२ उक्कात्संज्ञायाम्, २३ न्याय, २४ वंश, २५ देश (विश) २६ काल, २७ आकाश, २८
अनुवंश. ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् व्यत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भवं=दन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम्, श्रोत्र्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं=पद्यं (VI. 3-53), नासिकायां भवं=नस्यम् ॥

दतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अ-
स्ति-अहेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृत्त्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

56. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti', 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दार्तेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहेयम् ॥ आहेयम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा नौः. अस्तिमान्=धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराड्ढञ्च, तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as ढञ्) comes after the word 'grīvā' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3-55) ग्रीवासु भवं=ग्रवेयम् or ग्रैवम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

गम्भीराञ्ज्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीरशब्दाद् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ बहिर्देवपञ्चजनेभ्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ चतुर्मासाद् यज्ञे ज्यो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhîra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गाम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vart.—So also after बहिः, देव and पंचजन. As बाह्यम्, दैव्यम् and पांचजन्यम् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vārtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vārtika of the same.

Vart.—The affix ñya comes after chaturmāsa in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च (उच्चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च उच्चः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an Avyayībhāva Compound, the affix उच्च is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ The affix उच्च however, does not come after every Avyayībhāva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परि-मुखादि as given in the Gaṇapātha.

Thus परिसुखं भवं = परिसुख्यम्, So also पारिहृन्व्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिसुख ॥

1 परिसुख, 2 परिहृनु, 3 पर्योष्ठ, 4 पशुल, 5 औपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुशुप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदाट्ठञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्- ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदाव्ययीभावाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानशब्दाट्ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तदादेशः ॥

वा० ॥ अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ मुखपार्श्वशब्दाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीयः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दादीयः ॥

वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात् ॥

वा० ॥ मण्मीयौ च प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वा० ॥ अजिनान्ताच्च ॥

वा० ॥ स्थास्रो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārikā

समानस्य तदादेशः अध्यात्मादिषु चेष्यते ।

ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च देहाच्च लोकोत्तरपदस्य च ॥

मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुक्चजनस्य परस्य च ॥

ईयः कार्योय मध्यस्य मण्मीयौ प्रत्ययौ तथा ॥

मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात्स्थानो लुगजिनात्तथा ॥

60. After an Avyayībhāva compound, having the word अन्तर as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्वेदिकम्, आन्तर्गे हिकम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ठञ् comes after समान, as समाने भवं = सामानिकम् ॥

Vart.—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानप्रामिकम्, सामानं देशिकं.

Vart.—So also after the words अभ्यात्न, &c as, आभ्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अभ्यात्मादि is Ākṛitigaṇa.

Vart.—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्वनः as, और्ध्वन्विकः ॥ The word 'ūrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

Vart.—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

Vart.—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term ; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

Vart.—The words मुख and पाद्व्य ending in त्स, take the affix ईद्य; as, मुखतीयम्, पाद्व्यतीयम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ईद्य comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ईद्य comes after मध्य, as, मधीयः ॥

Vart.—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

Vart.—So also the affix दिनञ् (दिनञ् in Padamanjari) comes after मध्य, whereby it be comes मध्यस् as माध्यन्दिनस् in माध्यन्दिन उपाययति ॥

Vart.—There is luk-elision of the affix after the word स्थाप्य, as, अभ्यस्थाप्या ॥

Vart.—So also there is elision after the words ending in भजिन, as वृकाजिनः, सिंहजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दान्ताव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayîbhāva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus परिप्रामिकः, आनुप्रामिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलङ्गुलेदछः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुले- छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलशब्दादङ्गुलिशब्दादछः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'aṅguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars वत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वाशूलीयम्, अंगुलीयम् ॥

वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च (छ)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गशब्दान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अण् ॥ As कवर्गायि, चवर्गायि ॥

अशब्दे यत्स्वावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-सौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादिष्वेव । शब्दादन्यस्मिन्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्गान्ताद्यातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां यत्सौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and सौ are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्गः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीणः, (by सौ), and वासुदेववर्गीयः (by छ) ॥
अधिष्ठितवर्गः 'वर्गीणः' or 'वर्गीयः' ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कवर्गीय वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars वत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament,? Observe कर्णश्च 'what is in the ear', ललाटश्च ॥

तस्य व्याख्यानश्चि च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-
श्चि-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मैति वहीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्व्याख्यानेऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भव-
ति तच्च भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तच्चभव, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपा मन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Taīṅga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्तः 'Kārta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौपा &c. may also mean सुप्सु भव &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pāṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pāṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशला is a modal giving a description of Pāṭaliputra. This will not be called Pāṭaliputram.

The anuvṛitti of भव् and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव् into this sūtra also.

बहुचोन्तोदात्तादुठञ् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-अन्तोदात्तात् उठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकादन्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix उठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वाचस्पतिकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नात्तानतिकम् 'a commentary on (अनन्त) udātta and anudātta (नन्त)' ॥ The radicals वाचस्पत् and नत्तानन्त are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम्, तैडम् &c. A word of two syllables will take उक् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe साहित्त् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च (उठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix उठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निष्टोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Agnishtoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The words 'vājapeya' and 'rājasūya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus पाञ्चौषानिकः, शशौषानिकः ॥

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋषे, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिशब्दः प्रवरनामधेयानि तेभ्य ऋषिशब्देभ्यः भवव्याख्यानबोधार्थोऽयम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a *Rishi*, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an *Adhyāya* only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an *Adhyāya* or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यानव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a *Rishi*".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". वश्वामात्रकः "a chapter of commentary on Viśvāmitra".

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् छुन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-छुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशशब्दस्य पुरोडाशशब्दश्च भवव्याख्यानबोधार्थयोः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix छुन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pauroḍāsa' and 'puroḍasa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāsa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍāsa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Puroḍāsa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Puroḍāsa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्ः शब्दश्च व्याख्यानबोधार्थयोर्वदणौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word *Chhandas*.

This debars टक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दसः or छान्दसः ॥

इयजृद्ब्राह्मणर्कप्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणां नामाख्याताद् उक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयजृद्-
ऋत-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरश्चरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-उक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इयजृदिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो न्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानचोर्यचोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix उक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brahmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'nāmākhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and उञ् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic :—हेटिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ :—चातुर्होतुकः, पांचहोतुकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्चिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पुरश्चरणिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-ऋगयनादिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानचोर्यचोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'ṛigayana' &c.

This debars उञ्, उक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पदव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्याः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोगान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविधिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगन, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उच्चाव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमिष, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो वि-
जिनी 25 व्याज ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसप्तम्यां आगत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus कुत्रासागतः = कौटः 'what has come from Sruḡhna'. मायुरः, राष्ट्रिवः ।

उगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगाय इति स्वामिप्राप्तौ भाग उच्यते स बलिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रा-
तिपदिकेभ्यश्च उक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix उक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word आद्य means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आद्य is called आद्यस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, बाधक-बाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल. 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 वृण, 9 पर्ण. ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः ॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः संबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

77. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix वुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायादागतम् = औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शैष्यकम् आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

ऋतष्टञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

78. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम् = होतृकम् 'derived from Hotri.' पौतृकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भातृकम्, स्वातृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The ण् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ऋ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादुच्ञ तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as उच्ञ comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्कचत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्कचत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादङ्कचत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant—denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुम् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्कः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagū.' So also कापदवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as आपगवेष्य आगतम् = औपगवकम्, कापदवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम् (formed by वुम् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly वैदः, गार्ग्यः, दाक्षः formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेभ्यो धमवत् IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः, अन्यतरस्या म-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men

also देवदत्तकृत्यम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तकृत्यम् or यज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svapavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23 : and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयद् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत भागत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, यज्ञदत्तमयम् ॥

The द् of मयद् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां कृत्यमयदौ ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् ऊपाप्राप्तिपदिकात्प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हैमवती "The Haimavati", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dārādī" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराज्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूरशब्दाद् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika

बालशायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।

न वै तत्रेति चेद्भूयाज्जित्परीवदुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix **य** comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यः** 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called **वालवाय** ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to **वालवाय**, when the latter word is replaced by **विदूर**; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarî.

तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयात्मन्याङ्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्निषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थात् चेत् स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus **सुगन्धगच्छति = सौघः** "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also **माथुरः** ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say **पथिदूतयोः** "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe **सुगन्धं गच्छति सार्थः** 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयात्मन्याङ्गभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus **सौघः** 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kânyakubja. So also **माथुरम्, राष्ट्रियम् ॥**

Objection. The sûtra would have stood better as **अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं**, for by using **अभिनिष्क्रामति**, you make the word **द्वारं** as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answered by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (करण) to the action of **अभिनिष्क्रमण**; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as **साध्वसिञ्चिनति** 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् “when it is a gate”? Observe सुवृत्तमभिनिष्कामति पुरुषः ‘a person faces towards Srughna’.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्याधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चे-
त्स भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुबाख्यायिकायस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of ‘made in relation to any subject,’ when the thing made is a ‘book.’

The word अधिकृत्य means ‘aiming at’ ‘alluding to, referring to.’ Thus सुभद्रामधिकृत्य कृतोग्रन्थः = सौभद्रः ‘Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadra.’ So also गौरिनिघ्नः, यायातः, किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say ग्रन्थे ‘when meaning a book’? Observe, सुभद्रामधिकृत्यकृतः प्रासादः ‘a palace built in memory of Subhadra’; where there is no affix.

Vart:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवदत्तामधि कृत्य कता SS ख्यायिका = वासवदत्ता “Vāsavadattā, a story relating to Vāsavadattā.” सुमनोहरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैरवी ॥

शिशुकन्दयमसमंन्द्रन्द्रेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-कन्द-यमस-
म-न्द्र-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुकन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ अणोपवादः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of ‘a book made relating to a subject,’ after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz ‘sisukranda,’ ‘yamasabha,’ the Dvandva-compounds, and the words ‘indra-janana’ &c.

The word तद् (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः ‘a book treating of the crying of infants,’ यमसभः ‘a book relating to the court of Yama’. A Dvandva-Compound: as, अग्निकाश्यपीयः, इन्द्रेणकपोतीयः, शाङ्गार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणं, वाक्यपरीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are ākṛitigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनीयम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvandva-Compounds देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ‘the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.’ राक्षोसुरम् गौणमुख्यम् ॥

The words **विशुक्ल** and **वसन्त** might have been included in the inchoate class **इन्द्रजननादि** ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोऽस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति वक्ष्यमासमर्थे निवासश्चेत्स भवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word **स** shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. **अस्य** 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. **निवासः**, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. **निवास** means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

स्रुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य = स्रुघ्नः 'a present dweller of Srughna', **मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः** &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति वक्ष्यमासमर्थे अभिजनश्चेत्स भवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between **निवासः** and **अभिजनः** is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his **निवास** or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (**अभिजनाः**) have lived, that is his **अभिजन** 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus **स्रुघ्नः** 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. **मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः** ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तार्थ्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वत इति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix **छ** comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word **आयुधजीवी** means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase **सोऽस्याभिजनः** is to be read into the sūtra. Thus **हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृद्गोलीयाः** 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'. So also **अन्धकवर्त्तिकाः, रोहितगिरीयाः** ॥

Why do we say **आयुधजीविभ्यः**? Observe **आश्वोदा ब्राह्मणाः** "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe. **सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः** ॥

शण्डिकादिभ्यो ङ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शण्डिकादिभ्यः, ङ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ङ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सौप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

92. The affix ङ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन 3 सर्वकोश, 4 शक, 5 शट, (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो ञञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अण्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंभज्यते । सिन्धादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणमं प्रत्ययौ भवतः सौप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

93. The affixes अण् and अञ come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सिन्धवः, वार्णवः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-adi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sūtra IV. 2. 133. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of वुष् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वात्सोद्धरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 सात्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 हरद् (हरद्), 11 गान्धका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा. ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वात्सोद्धरण, 3 कैमेदुर (कोमेदुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्यत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्डयकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शालातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूद्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्थः शब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढञ् ढक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सौप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शालातुरं, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus तूदीव्यः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतीयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स हात प्रयमासमर्थोऽस्येति षड्णर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रयमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping' or 'loving'.

Thus सुप्रो भक्तिस्त्व = सौप्रः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also माधुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvritti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word सः and अस्व should be read into the sūtra.

अचित्ताद्देशकालाद्ठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालव्यतिरिक्ताद्विचित्राचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये; अणोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अण्; and छ also. Thus अणूपाभक्तिस्त्व = आणूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाब्कुलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe हेतुदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe सौप्रः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe श्रेष्मन्ः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजाद्ठक् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अण् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this ठक् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां बुन् मत्वयो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छाणोरपवादः ॥

98. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken बुम् by the next sūtra, and there is no difference here between बुन् and बुम्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sūtra?

A. The word वासुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वसति अस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । अणोपवादः ॥

99 The affix बुम् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ. Thus: ग्लौचुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukāyani.' So also औपगवकः, कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas :—नाकुलकः, नात्रदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word आख्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो भक्सिरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वे जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥

जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो वे बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वे भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriyā-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus भङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गकः formed by बुम् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country' of Angās' Similarly बाङ्गकः, सौह्यकः, वेगन्त्रकः ॥

Similarly भङ्गाः क्षत्रियाः, भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गकः formed by the same affix बुम्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Angās'. So बाङ्गकः, सौह्यकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes'; (janapadinâm). Observe. पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पाञ्चालाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sūtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatriya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. मद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, मद्रौ pl. मद्राः. The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrās' as well as 'the country called Madrās'. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य मद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly वाज्यं (from वृजि IV. 1. 171), as, वाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य वाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य = वृजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजः स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṇḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sūtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrāja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrāja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As बाङ्गः or बाङ्गो भक्तिरस्य बाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थव्योक्तमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकर्षेणोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं

has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्वेन कृता मायुरेण प्रोक्ता = मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pāṇini' व्यापिशलम्, काशकृत्स्नम् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृते) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्ते) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sūtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose *author* is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sūtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kāṭha, Kalāpa &c. For example सुशर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुशर्मणा प्रोक्ते काठकं = सौशर्मणम् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas: that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काठकम्, कालापकम् and नैषकम् ॥ This sūtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another: as मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-उखात्-छम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिव्यः शब्देभ्यश्छम् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ शौनकादिव्यश्छन्सीत्यत्रास्यानुवृत्तेऽछन्नेधिकारविहितानां च तद्विषयत्वेत्येते ॥

102. The affix छम् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तवीयाः, खाण्डिकीयाः, मौखीयाः ॥

According to Kāśikā this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्,
रूषिभ्याम्, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । उ-
त्पापवारः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्त = काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa : not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अ-
न्तिवासिभ्यः, च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्ते वासिनां च वे वाचकाः शब्दास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ते-
न प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवारः ॥

Kārika

हरिद्रेषां प्रथमस्तत्तच्छगलितुम्बुरु ।

उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिशोच्यते ॥

आलम्बिभरकाः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावुभौ ।

कूचाभारुणिताण्डयाश्च मङ्गमीयास्त्रयोऽपरे ॥

इयामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî, and 'Vaisampâyana,' the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpî : as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरु, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampâyana : as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कूचाभ, भारुणि, ताण्डय, इयामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुरविणः, आलपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ आलम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, भारुणिनः, आर्चार्चभिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, इयामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalâpî being a pupil of Vaisampâyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampâyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalâpî.' But that is not so, the word Kalâpî being separately mentioned in the sūtra. So

also Kāṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, and Khāḍāyana is a pupil of Kāṭha and had the sūtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to खाडायन also. But that is not the case, Khāḍāyana being mentioned in Śaunakādi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । तृतीयासमर्थत्वोक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्च ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages,' equivalent to पुरातन. Of Brāhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शाखायनिनः, एतदायनः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैत्रीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe शाखवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि, आत्मरथः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yājñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sūtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्या णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये । छाणोरपवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debarbs छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकनिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Saunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठान्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव, 4 शापेय (सांपेय), 5 शाण्डेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुमार, 11 रज्जुकण्ड, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाय) 14 तल*, 15 इण्डु*, 16 पुरुषासक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्द, 20 देवदत्तशाठ, 21 तलवकार.

कठचरकाल्लुक् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठ-चरकात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कठचरकशब्दाभ्यां परस्व प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । कठशब्दाद्वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्य इति णिने-
भरकशब्दादभ्यङ्गः ॥

107. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Katha and Charaka.

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word : and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Kaṭha'. चरकाः &c.

The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sūtra. Observe काठः चारकाः
श्लोकाः ॥

कलापिनो ऽण् ॥ < ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापिनः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि शब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिस्त्वाण्णिरपवादः
वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य ढिलोपे सन्नद्धाचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुयुमितैतलिजाजलिजाङ्गलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिख-
ण्डिसूकरसप्तपुर्वणामुपेसंख्यनिम् ॥

108. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalâpî.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalapî'.

The word कलापाः is thus formed :—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for this Vārtika.

Vārt :—The दि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows :—सन्नद्धाचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुयुमिन्, तैतलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसप्तन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

छगलिनो दिनुक् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छगलिनः-दिनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छगलिन्शब्दाद् दिनुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । कलाप्यन्तेवासिस्त्वाण्णिरपवादः ॥

109. The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104). This debars that. Thus छगलायनः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

पाराशर्यशिलालिङ्ग्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालिङ्ग्याम्-भिक्षु-नट-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न दिनुक् । पाराशर्यशिलालिङ्ग्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तानिखेतस्मिन्निषये ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârāsarya and Silalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sūtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise of Pârāsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिङ्ग्यम् ॥ These words, of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pârāsarya and Sailālin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता-IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Naṭa Sûtras'? Observe पाराशर्यम्, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वाश्वाभ्यामिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kṛiśâśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin'. कृशाश्विनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Naṭa Sûtra of Kṛiśâśvin.' Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and कृशाश्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थोऽेकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus सुशाम्ना एकदिक् = सौशामनी दिशुस् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हैमवती, वैककुषी, पैतृपूरी ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the कर्मन्

which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sūtras does not apply here.

तसिश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेषु यादिषु अणादिषु च प्राप्तेष्वयमपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् & च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलतः, सुशामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारान्तसिश्च, तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थोपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम्, गुरुलाघवम्, आपिशलम्, हुष्करणम् &c. Compare II. 4. 21. The Pāṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघवम् is the name of the sciences of wealth (यज्ञोपायाणां गौरवं लाघव चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskarāṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थोपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्यभवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः=वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हैकुपादो ग्रन्थः, मैकुरादो ग्रन्थः, जालूकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्यक्षो भवति समुदायेन चैतत्संज्ञाज्ञायते ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम्=माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारधम्, पौष्किकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सरधा and पुष्पिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अण् = मक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛitti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चैतत्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्यक्षो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वाहकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिद्धि (सिद्धिन्ध), 8 सैरिन्ध (सेरिन्धय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्यद्), 11 बधू, 12 मधु*, 13 रुह, 14 रुह, 15 अनडुह, 16 ब्रह्मन्ध, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

शुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुद्रा-भ्रमर-वटर-पादपात्, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । शुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्यक्षो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्निषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । अणोपवादः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vatara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus शुद्राभिः कृतम्=क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादितमित्येतस्मिन् विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्याणादयः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः ।
यादयश्च प्रत्ययो यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहेस्तुरणिद् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधानाधानिवेण्यण् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV. 1. 83) and the affixes च &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिदम् = औपगवद्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवम्, राष्ट्रियम्, अवारपारीणम् ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्थानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vart:—The verb वह takes वृ (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इद्. As, संबोद्धः स्वं = सांवहिकम् ॥

Vart:—The affix रञ् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ As अग्नीध्रम् ॥ The word अग्नीध्र being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the च is not changed to इ (VIII. 2. 39).

Vart:—The affix 'shenyan' comes after सामधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो बाह्वेधावीति तदन्तविधिरुपसंख्यायते ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येदं = रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vartika रथसीताहलेभ्यो बाह्वेधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्द्वयशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आदरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औष्ट्ररथम् ॥ गार्धभ रथं ॥

The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix घृत् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, चं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाभ्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अश् is added.

This debarb अण् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहनम् ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अश् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वत्सेदम् वहनीयम् = आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गर्दिभम् ॥ So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीराशब्दाभ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये ऽणोपवादः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus हलत्वेदम् = हालिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्बुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-बुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वात्संज्ञकाद् बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणयोः । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debarb अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाध्व्यसालङ्कायनिका, काकोल्लिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अन्विभरद्वाजिका, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रेचरणाद्बुञ्ज ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-बुञ्ज ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुञ्जप्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

126. The affix बुञ्ज comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debarb अण् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—ग्लौचुकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sūtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'. So also कालापकम्, मौदकम्, पैपलादकम् ॥

संघाङ्गलक्षणेष्वन्यत्रिजामण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्ग-लक्षणेषु-अङ्-यङ्-इजां, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वनन्ताद् यञन्ताद् इमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्यैव मिलितस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य वुञो उपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घोषग्रहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अङ्, यङ् or इङ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्ग though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars वुञ् of the last aphorism.

Vārt :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अञन्तात् (IV. 1. 104)—बैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यञन्तात् (IV. 1. 105)—गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः (VI. 4. 148, 151) 'a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gārgyās? इमन्तात् (IV. 1. 95)—दाक्षि + अण् = दाक्षः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes अङ्, यङ् or इङ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15), Thus बैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंवङ्गाच्च in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, बैदी विद्याऽस्य = बैदीविद्याः i. e. बिसानानसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलशब्दात्संवादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाणप्रत्ययो भवति तस्येहमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । वृजो-
पवादः ॥

128. The affix अण optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वृज् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.'

छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनदाञ्ज्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्थिक-
याज्ञिक-बह्वृच-नदात्, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादयो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येहमित्ये-
तस्मिन्निषये । वृजोपवादः ॥

129. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

The anuvṛitti of संघ &c ceases. The ञ्य debars अण् and वृज् ॥ The phrase चरणार्धमार्गनाययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नदः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhândoga.' So also औक्थिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बह्वृच्यम् and नाक्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhândoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु वृज् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix वृज् is not used after a Family-name when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kârikâ. अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus शक्ताः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dākshi." माहकाः ॥ So also गौकक्षौ दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येहमित्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुम् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, स्वापिशीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरभीवि (गौरभीव), 5 औदमेधि (औदमेधि), 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 बैजवापि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदशब्दाभ्याम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । गोत्रवृत्त्योपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.

This debars वुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, इकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्मान्निषेधेन चैकलोपः, तस्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । चरणवृत्त्योपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'âtharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्ना-
योवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्माभ्यायोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थान्निकार इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेधे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेधे (IV. 2. 92 &c). such as च, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकारः ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sūtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sūtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अण् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udātta on the first syllable, for an anudāttādi will have अण् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयद् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अहमन् and भस्मन् formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by तिकन् (V. 4. 39) which are ādyudātta owing to निन् accent. Thus अहमनो विकारः = अहमनः ॥ The हि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vārt) As आहमः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवाचिभ्यः शस्त्रेभ्यः वहीतमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकारसहि-कारि च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कपोतः (IV. 3. 154) ॥ So also मायूरः, तैत्तिरः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मौर्वन् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्ष, as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kārīra tree".

In the subsequent sūtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमभ्ययदोरपवादः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अण् and मयद् ॥ Thus बिल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गवधुक्ता occurs in this list. It would have taken 'aṇ' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवधुक्ता, 10 कर्पासी
11 पाटली, 12 कर्कण्डू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाच्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-च (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात्प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति यथायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अत्रोपवादः ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम्. Thus तर्कु तार्क्यम्, तित्तिडीक, तैत्तिडीक; माण्डूकम्, हर्षुकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तित्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle. (Phit Su. II. 16).

त्रपुजतुनोः षुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रपु-जतुनोः-षुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रपुजतुशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे, तत्सन्नियोगेन तयोः षुगागमो भवति । ओरओपवादः ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139). As, त्रपुणो विकारः = त्रापुषम्; जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac." In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरञ् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यामितिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवादः ॥

139. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवहारवम्, भद्रहारवम् ॥ The words देवहार and भद्रहार are ādy-udātta owing to Phit Su. II. 14 (पीतवृक्षानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवादः ॥

140. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part,' after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus दधित्थम्, कापित्थम्, माहित्थम् ॥ The word दधित्थम् is an upapada-samāsa of दधि + स्थ, the स being changed to त; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वा ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशञ् or पालाशञ् so also खडिरञ् or खडिरञ्, शिवांसञ् or यावासञ् ॥

This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, खडिर, शिवांस and स्थान्द being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta- vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 खडिर, 3 शिवांस, 4 स्थान्द (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 यावास, 9 विककृत.

शस्याष्टलञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शस्याः-दलञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशब्दाद् दलञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अत्रोपवादः ॥

142. The affix दलञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शमीलं मन्त्र, शमीली लुक् (IV. 1. 6c).

मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-वा-पतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभक्ष्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिमात्राद्वा मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति भक्ष्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये यथायथं प्रत्ययेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

143. The affix मयद् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अन्नमयम् or आन्नमयम् (IV. 3. 134) मूर्धामयम् or मौर्वयम् (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness वैल्वः खादिरो वा दूषः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe मौर्वः दूषः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कर्पासम् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कपोतम् (IV. 3. 135), लोहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृद्ध-शरादिभ्यः (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्चाभक्ष्याच्छादनयोर्विकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vriddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vriddha—आन्नमयम्, शालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words:—
शरमयम्, हर्ममयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sūtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sūtra, the affix would be obligatory? The affix मयद्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्य in the sūtra. Thus, लवङ् मयम्, क्षन् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 हर्म, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी, 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (बल्वज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोश्चक्षुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं = milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाच्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दान्तिष्ठे मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवाहः ॥

146. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमन्नं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पेटी सुरा in the sense of तस्यैवम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारं संज्ञायां विषये । मयदोपवाहः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणशब्दमयद् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारि । नित्वाद्यणोपवाहः ॥

148. The affix मयद् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puroḍāsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus त्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise त्रेहम् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवशब्दाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Namer" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन्. (यावद्विभक्तः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यचक्षुन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचक्षुः-छन्दसि (मयद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचक्षुः प्रातिपदिकाश्च छन्दसि विषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयद् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3. 143. Thus पर्जन्यः, वर्धनः, चारमन्, in the following वत्स्य पर्जन्यो जुहूर्मवति, वर्धनमयः वासो भवति, चारमन् चार्हि भवति ॥

नोत्त्वद्वर्द्धबिल्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्त्वत्-वर्द्ध-बिल्वात् (मयद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वत् प्रातिपदिकावर्द्धबिल्वशब्दाभ्यां च मयद् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयद् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus नौज्जं शिष्यम् from नुज्ज by अण् ॥ गार्मुतं चक्रम्, वार्ध्नी बालप्रपयिता भवति; बेल्वो ब्रह्मवर्षसक्रान्तेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्त्वत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूमनवान्वधानि ॥ The वत् in उत्त्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words ending in उ, but also to words having उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words ending in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वेणवी वृत्तिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुज्ज is ādy-udatta by तुणधान्यानां (Phit II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गार्मुत् is formed by the affix उत् plus the augment मुद् (मुधोस्ति; मोमुद् Uṇ I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अज् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गार्मुत् ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तस्या एतं गार्मुतं चरं निर्वयेत् ॥ The word चरं is ady-
udatta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अण्, the feminine being formed by
ङीप् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its pro-
duct or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयड् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिशम् ॥

1 तालाद्धनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिश, 4 इन्द्रादृश, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्ग), 7 दया-
माक, 8 पीयूषा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो
ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting
'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra,
indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयड् &c. Thus हाटकं निष्कः, हाटकं कार्पापणम्, जातरूपम्, ताप-
नीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe वृत्तिरियं हाटकमयी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिग्राचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणादी-
नामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its pro-
duct or part', after words expressing living beings, and
after रजत &c.

This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after
those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words
other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus :—कपातम्, मायम्, तैन्निरम्, राजतम्, सैसम्, लौहम्, &c. In the class
रजतानि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudatta on the beginning
and would have taken अण् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent
the application of अण् to them.

1 रजत, २ सास, 3 लोह, 4 तुल्यम्, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 वि-

जितञ् तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जितः-च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्प्रत्यये । तदिति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्ययवर्णः । अधोविकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्तात्वातिप-
विकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरैव । नयदोपवादः ॥

155. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory ञ् denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), टलञ् (IV. 3. 142), अञ् (IV. 3. 154) डुञ् (IV. 3. 157), डञ् (IV. 3. 159), अञ्, वञ् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. Thus देवदारवत् विकारोऽवयवो वा = देवदारवञ्; so also शशित्वञ्, पालशञ्, शमीलञ्, कापोतञ् औष्ठकञ् ऐजेजञ्, कांस्थञ्, पारशवञ् ॥

Why do we say जितः? Witness वैल्वमञ्. Here नयद is used after वैल्व and the derivative is formed by अञ् of IV. 3. 136. So also वैदमञ् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्बतेष्टमित्यत आरम्भ क्रीतार्थे च प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते विकारेऽतिदिश्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अञ् &c. Thus निष्केन क्रीतञ् = नैष्किकञ् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikāra also, निष्कस्य विकारः = नैष्किकः formed by डक् (V. 1. 20). As शतेनक्रीतं = शतञ् or शतिकञ् (V. 1. 21), so शतस्य विकारः = शतञ् or शतिकः by डन् and वन् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं = साहसञ् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः = साहसः (V. 1. 27 by अञ्) ॥

The word वन् in क्रीतवन् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विनैष्किकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sūtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyā. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The-similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्रादुष्टुञ् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, उष्टुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दादुष्टुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राग्यमोपवादः ॥

157. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra.

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-वा (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाशब्दादूर्णशब्दाच्च वा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix **बुञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words उमा and ऊर्णा.

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

पण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पणीशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यञोपवादः ॥

159. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word पणी ॥

Thus ऐमेवं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐ-
नम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by **अञ्** ॥

गोपयसोर्बत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गज्यम् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यम् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाच्चत्प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । ओरञोपवादः ॥

161. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रुय्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix **वय** comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.

This debars **यत्** ॥ As द्रुवयम् 'a measure.'

फले लङ् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारवयवयोस्त्यन्त्यस्य फले लङ्प्रत्यये विवक्षिते लुक् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मयद् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobalans.' So also वदरम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

पूक्षादिभ्योः ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । पूक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अ-ओपवाहः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in/the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अम् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम्, नैद्यमोधम् ॥

1 शूक्ष्म, 2 न्यमोध, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 इङ्गुली, 5 शिम्, 6 रुक्, 7 कक्षत् (कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्धु कक्षत्) 8 वृक्षी. ॥

जम्बू वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्बू-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्बूवास्त्रफले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अओपवाहः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus जम्बू + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अम् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बू + अम् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बू, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्बूः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्त्व वा लुप् भवति । हुक्तवशादे विशेषः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ लुप्करणे फलपाकशुभामुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बू + अम् लुप् = जम्बूः, as, जम्बूः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्बूः फलं = जम्बू फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vārt:—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens: Thus व्रीहिः-व्रीहयः, यवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

Vārt:—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots: as, मल्लिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः; so also विशर्वा मूलं = विशरी ॥ अशुमती वृक्षी ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, शालूनि मूलानि ॥ So कदम्बं पुष्पं, अशोकम्, करवीरम्, बैलूनि फलानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । लुकिप्राप्ते लुपो विधाने युक्तवद्भावे लोपप्रत्ययभ्रवणे च विहायः ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं=हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कौशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कौशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी) 4 शक्कण्डी (शाकण्डी) 5 शडी, 6 होडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 श्राका, 10 काला, 11 भ्राका (भ्राङ्का) 12 गभीका (गर्गरिका) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 पिच्छा* (पिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 इडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्ब्रजौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यज्-अजौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्कीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं य-अजौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, तत्संनिधौनेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्लुक् भवति ॥

168. The affixes यज्, and अज् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansīya' and 'parasavyā', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes यज् and अज् are added. Thus कंसीय+यज्=कंस+यज्=कंस्यः so also परशव्य from परशव्य thus परशव्य+अज्=परशु+अज्=पारशवः ॥

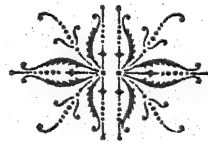
The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कम् is added first the Upādi affix स (Up. III. 62) and we get कंस; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर+शु is added the affix ड (Up. I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and ड be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकान् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sūtra; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a prātipadika. But स and उ are added to a Dhātu and not a prātipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word पराश्व्य being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अच् by IV. 3. 140. The present sūtra teaches the elision only of its affix यत्, अच् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कसीय and पराश्व्य will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final य् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sūtra?

A. The final य् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्बहतेष्टक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-बहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्वहति संशब्दनाथानर्थाननुक्रान्तिव्यापः, ठक् प्रत्य-
यस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहोते माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आहोमभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतौ सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गच्छतौ परशारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षे दीव्यति = आक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer." अक्ष + ठक् = आक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

Vārt:—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्य-
वाञ्छिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Vārt:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः,
वार्धनिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

Vārt:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति
= सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well" सौखराजिकः, सौखशायनिकः ॥

Vārt:—So also after परशारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits
adultery with': as परशारान् गच्छति = पारशारिकः, गौरुतात्पिक ॥ The word तत्प्य here refers
to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दाव्यात-खनति-जयति
जितम् ॥

वार्ताः ॥ तेनानि तन्नीयासमर्थाद् दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वप्येष्टु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus असैरीव्यति = आशिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाकिकः ॥ अभ्या खनति = आशिकः, कौशालिकः, असैर्यति = आशिकः, असैरितं = आशिकम् ॥ शालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word देवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'divyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus आशिकौ and आशिकाः are also valid, and so also असैरीव्यत् will give also आशिकः; so also आशिकस्त्वम् आशिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यासंस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = राधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, मारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दात्कारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

4. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक् " Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, राईमकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औदुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छादठञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छशब्दाद् ठञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

6. The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus गौपुच्छिकः ॥

नौद्वयचष्ठन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-द्वयचः-ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौद्वयश्च द्व्यन्तश्च प्रातिपदिकाद् ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

Kārika

आकर्षात्पर्विरेभञ्जादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।

अवासयात्किशारेः पितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥

7. The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, चटिकः, प्लविकः, बाहुकः ॥

The ष in छन् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ष occurs in these sūtras only IV. 4, 9, 10, 18, ८२ and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थोचरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus इध्ना चरति = शधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, ह्रीस्तकः 'who travels by an elephant'. शाकदिकः ॥

आकर्षाण्डष्ठल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-ष्ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षशब्दात् ष्टल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

9. The affix ष्टल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means thereof' after the word 'ākarsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The ण् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष of ष्टल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् पर्विरेभञ्जादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, अवासयात्

किञ्चरतिः चितः षडेते इगधिकरि ॥ In the six Sôtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicatory 'sh.' Here च being इन्, the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक f. आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्पादिभ्यः छन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्पादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्प इत्येवमादिभ्यः छत् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

10. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on. by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars डक्; the ङ् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ष् for डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्विकः f. पर्विकी, अश्विकः f. अश्विकी ॥ पर्विकः f. पर्विकी ॥ The पाद् is changed to पद् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्व, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 ज्वाल, 7 व्याल, 8 पाद्ः पञ्च ॥

श्वगणाद्ठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वगणात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वगणशब्दाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् छन्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars डक् ॥ Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. f. श्वगणिकी ॥ ठञ्, श्वगणिकः f. श्वगणिका ॥

The form श्वगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus श्वगण + ठञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires Vpiddhi of अ of श् ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vpiddhi, the letter औ comes before च in the case of श्च ॥ &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been श्वौगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्च is followed by इङ्, applies also to श्च followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्च is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ :

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति वृत्तीभावनयैभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः शब्दैभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vétana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वेतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word चतुर्गुण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus चतुर्गुण्डिकः, चतुर्गुण्डः, शण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्वण्डः 5 जाल, 6 वेष्टा (वेस्त), 7 उपवेष्टा (उपवेष्ट, उपवेस्त), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपवस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनि-
षद्, 14 उपदेश, 15 स्फिक्* (स्फिज), 16 वाह, 17 उपस्थ*, 18 उपस्थान, 19 उपहस्त*, 20 कृत् ॥

वस्नक्रयविक्रयाद्ठक् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्नक्रयविक्रयशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवाहः

13. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya'. being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire--hire-ling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधशब्दाच्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद्ठक् जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीवः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठक्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थ्यां हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औडुपिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप्, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न*, 5 उत्पुद*, 6 पिदक, 7 पिदाक, 8 उडप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः छ्त् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, छ्त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थ्यां हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छ्त्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix छ्त् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhasra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रा हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41). So भरदिकः f. भरदिकी ॥ The

word मञ्ज means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 मञ्जा, 2 भरद्, 3 भरज (भारज), 4 वीर्वभार, 5 वीर्वेभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधसङ्ग्राह्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां विभाषा ण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ण् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vīvadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix ठक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधेन हरति = वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is ठक्, we have वैवधिकी in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sūtra is विभाषा विवधात्, the Kāsikā has added वीवध from a Vārtika.

अण्कुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकायासाङ्ग्राह्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां अण् प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याध=कौटिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गराज्=कौटिलिकः कर्मजः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते अक्षघृतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, घृतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षघृतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थ्यां निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षघृतेन निर्वृत्तम्=अक्षघृतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So आनुमदतिकम् ॥

1 अक्षघृत, 2 आनुमदत (°मदत), 3 अङ्घामदत (°मदत), 4 अङ्घामदत*, 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत*, 8 गतागत, 9 आतोपधात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रैर्मन्त्रित्यम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव, द्वितः स्मिरित्ययं चिराद्भ्यो गृह्यते । मपन्तान्नित्यं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root डुवप् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पङ्+क्त्रि+मप्=पक्त्रिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from डुवप् we have णप्+क्त्रि+मप्=ऋक्त्रिमम् (VI. 1. 15): from डुकृप् we have कृक्त्रिमम् ॥

The word नित्य in the sūtra indicates that the affix क्त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vart:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus वाकेन निर्वृत्तं=वाक्त्रिमम् (पङ्+क्त्रि III. 3. 18+इमप्), so स्वागिमम्, सेकिमम्, कुट्टिमम् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्-कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव । अपमित्ययाचितसम्बाध्यां यथासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतौ, निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yāchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to क्वप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थात्संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus इमा संसृष्ट=साधकम् 'smeared with curds.' मासिकम्, सार्वभौतिकम्, वैयलिकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'samsṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । ठकोपचारः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrṇa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽ पूषा: 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणाल्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य ठको लवणशब्दाल्लुक् भवति ॥

24. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt.' as लवणः सुपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं, लवणा यवगूः (I. 1. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपचारः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मोद्रे ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' मोद्रे ववागूः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिक्ते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिक्तइत्येतस्मिन्र्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus इध्ना उपसिक्तं = साधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौषिकम्, सारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

ओजः सहोम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः घूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-
कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवपूर्वम् ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो व-
र्तते इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ङक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तत् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपं वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः 'favorable.' प्रतिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' पातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थार्थवर्तते इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ङक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near Or present'

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिपाहिषकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थार्थवच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्वितीयासमर्थं गर्ह्यं वे-
चं भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्ङुषिभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. The affix ङक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुण प्रयच्छति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थ 'for the sake of double'. Similarly त्रैगुणिकः ॥

Vart:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृद्धि before this affix. As, वृद्धि प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase'. Or the word वृद्धि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गर्ह्यन् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुण प्रयच्छति अधर्मणः 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्दचौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, छन्-
छचौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यमित्येव । कुसीदं वृद्धि, स्तर्यं वृद्धं कुसीदम् । एकादशार्था दश, दशैकादशाब्देनो-
च्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकादशाब्दाभ्यां वयासंख्यं छन् छञ् इत्येते प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

31. The affixes छन् and छच् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'dasaikâdasa'; when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condi-
tion that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादशः ॥
This sūtra debars डक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes छन् and छच् is in
the accent (VI. I. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + छन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. I.
41). So दशैकादशिकः fem °की ॥

उञ्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिति द्वितीयासमर्थाऽुञ्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix डक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus बह्नाण्डुञ्छति = बाहरिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. इयामाकिकः, काणिकः ॥
To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिति द्वितीयासमर्थाऽरक्षतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix डक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by
his presence'. So also सानिवेशिकः ॥

शब्द-दुर्गं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-दुर्गम, करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विहि द्वितीयासमर्थ्यां शब्द-दुर्गम-शब्दाभ्यां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Sabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So शर्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान् हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विधेयः । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. i. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, माशूरिकः, तैत्तिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, आल्यिकः, भैनिकः, शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, शरणिक्, सौक्-रिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थशब्दात्तद्विहि द्वितीयासमर्थ्यां तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = परिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्नोति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = परिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपद्व्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुप-दम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथश्चक्षोःनगरस्यातिपदिकात्पदवी अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of “who runs”, after a word having नाथ as its second term, and after the words ‘padavī’ and ‘anupada’.

Thus गण्डमाथं धावति = गण्डमाथिकः ‘who runs on a high way’. So also सौत्कमाथिकः ॥ Similarly पारदिकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word नाथ means ‘a way’.

आक्रन्दाद्ठञ्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दन्त्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो देशः । अथवा ऽऽकथतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तायनमुच्यते । विशेषाभावाद् द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम् । आक्रन्दश्चास्मादिति द्वितीयासनर्याङ्गावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद्ठक् ॥

38. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word ‘âkranda’, being in the second case in construction, in the sense of ‘who runs’.

The word आक्रन्द means ‘a place where persons weep’ e. g. a battle-field. It also means ‘weeping’ ‘invoking’ &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दे धावति = आक्रन्दिकैः or आक्रन्दिकैः, i. आक्रन्दिकी ‘a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard’.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदश्च उत्तरपदं बन्ध तस्मात्पदोत्तरपदग्रहात् तदिति द्वितीयासनर्याङ्गावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’, after a word having ‘pada’ as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the affix बन्ध ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामबाधेऽस्तदिति द्वितीयासनर्येणो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’ after the words ‘pratikantha’, ‘artha’, and ‘lalâma’ being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रतिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, ललामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayi-bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगन्तः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मे चरात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थचरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधर्मावेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मन् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also अधर्मावेति = "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vārtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठञ्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, पति, ठन्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थान् एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vriddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not..

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः, साङ्गहिकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषदं समवैति = पारिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाद् वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix **ण्य** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word **senâ**.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus **सेनां समवेति** = **सेन्यः** or **सैनिकः** 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुक्कुटीसंज्ञाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्याभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे **ठक्** प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words '**lalâta**' and '**kukkuṭi**', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus **ललाटं पश्यति** = **ललाटिकः** 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also **कौक्कुटिकः** 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word **कुक्कुटी** ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called **कौक्कुटिकः** ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

तस्य धर्म्यम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्यं (ठक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थार्थं धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे **ठक्** प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix **ठक्** comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word **धर्म्यं** means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word **तस्य** shows the case of the word. Thus **शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं** = **शौल्कशालिकः** 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also **आकस्मिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौत्मिकम्** ॥

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमहिष्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥ ढकोपवाहः ॥

48. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word '**mahishî**' &c.

This debars **थक्**. Thus **महिष्या धर्म्यं** = **माहिष्यम्** 'the usages of queens.' So **प्राज. वत्सम्** ॥

1 महिषी, 3 प्रजापति°, 3 प्रजावती, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित
8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ, 11 यजमान.

ऋतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, अञ् :

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताप्यातिपदिकास्य प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्ममित्येतस्मिन्पदे । ठकोपवादः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ नरावेतिवन्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुर्ङिलोपञ्च ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्ङिलोपञ्च ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus पोटु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potri.' औज्ञानम् 'the office or duties of an Udgātri.' Padamanjari gives the example of होतु धर्म्यम् under this sūtra, though the word होतु occurs in the list given in the preceding sūtra. The Hotri of the preceding sūtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vārt:—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vārt:—So also after the word विशसितु, the इङ् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अञ् = वैशस्यम् ॥

Vārt:—So also after the word विभाजयितु, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाज्यम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्त्वत्वेव । षष्ठीसमर्थावक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus शुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः. So also आपणिकः, गौलमिकः, आकरिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्व, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थावक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति वसत्ययनासमर्थे पण्यं वेत्तइवति ॥

51. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपः पण्यं अस्व = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also शाण्डुलिकः, मोक्षिकः &c.

लवणादठञ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दादठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

52. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars **ठक्**, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्यः छन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

53. The affix **छन्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य = किशरिकः f किशरिक् (IV. 1 41), नरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥

1 किशर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्यागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उश्नरि, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 लुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रावणी.

शालालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शालालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालालुशब्दादन्यतरस्यां छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः । पक्षेऽपि भवति ॥

54. The affix **छन्** comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'salâlun'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. शालालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य = शालालुकः f. शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with **ठक्**, शालालुक्; f. शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विधिं प्रथमासमर्थयत्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शिल्पं चेत्तद्विधिः ॥

55. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मारुद्रिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mridanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैजिकः ॥

मद्दुकशर्शरादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्दुक, शर्शरात्, अण्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मद्दुकशर्शरादभ्यामन्यतरस्यामन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

56. The affix **अण्** comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus मद्दुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य = माद्दुकः or माद्दुक्कः, so शर्शरः and शर्शरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्व्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्त्विति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे प्रहरणं चे-
त्तद्वति ।

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणमस्य=आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So प्रासिकः, चाक्रिकः,
धानुष्कः ॥

परश्वधाट्ठञ् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परश्वधात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्वधशब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus
पारश्वधिकः or पारश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्ट्योः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashṭi'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य=शक्तीकः, So also याष्टीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्व्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो ऽस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽस्त्विति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक्
प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे मतिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nasti' and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य=आस्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after.
नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose
belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट=दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a par-
ticular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika
is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who
does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated
by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These
various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं शीलं चे-
ह्वति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाकुलिकः, मौदकिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽक्रोपवादः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्या, संस्या, अवस्या &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुच्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्य-
च्छत्रवत् छाद्यः "a preceptor is like an Umbrellā, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrellā'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्या, संस्या, अवस्या), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 चुरा,
7 तितिक्षा°, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (कृषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विश्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत,
15 विशिखा*, 16 विशिका (शिबिका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 उदस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (!)°, 20 विक्षा°, 21 क्षु-
क्षा*, 22 मन्द्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं कर्म चे-
द्वृत्तमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vrittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist" Similarly त्रैयन्यिकः त्रैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्तिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैकान्तिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बहुच्पूर्वपदादठच् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुच्, पूर्वं पदात्, ठच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच् पूर्वपदं यस्य तस्माद् बहुच्पूर्वपदात्पातिपादिकाद् ठच् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माध्यक्षने वृत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥ ठकोपवादः ॥

64. The affix ठच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus:—द्वादशाग्न्यानि कर्माध्यक्ष्यने वृत्तानि भस्व = द्वादशान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So त्रयोदशान्यिकः, चतुर्दशान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनङ्गात् which ought to be udatta, or *vice versa*.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति वत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे हितं, चेन्न भवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 5i) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise: 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ Thus अपूपंभक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, नौदकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मादिति चतुर्थ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति वत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे, तच्चेदीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अयं भोजनमस्यै नियुक्तं दीयते = आम्रभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आरूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', शाश्वतिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्यं 'always'. According to them आरूपिकः would mean अप्रुषा नित्यमस्यै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

आणामांसोदनाद्विठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदादि ॥ आणा-मांस-ओदनात्, विठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आणामांसोदनशब्दभ्यां विठन् प्रत्ययौ भवति तदस्यै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । टकोपवादः ।

67. The affix विठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसोदन ॥

This विठन् debars टक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्यै दीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get 'rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥

The difference between टक् and विठन् is in accent, the former having udātta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of टक् and विठन् will both be formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix टक् resembles विठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not टक् used instead of विठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसोदन the affix टक् might have been employed instead of विठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix विठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. But टक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which विठन् does not. Thus ओदन + विठन् = ओदनिकः, f. ओदनिकी ॥ With टक् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word आणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to ङ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthā त् is changed to ञ (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is वृत्त = कीरन् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदादि ॥ भक्ताद्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दाद् प्रत्ययौ भवत्वन्यतरस्यां तदस्यै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये टकोपवादः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars टक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्यै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीतमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो अधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकारिकः, आपाणिकः, गौलमिकः, सौवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tat-purusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताद्ठक् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारशब्दान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

70. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vridubhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायिनि-अदेशकालात् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाददेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्विभिधेये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction. denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus भ्रमशानेऽधीते = इमाशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पाथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चार्तुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आमावात्यिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe कुत्रेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्नेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति ॥ ७२ ॥ वदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina-

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्नेव वा क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया नां तथैवानुतिष्ठेति ॥ So also ब्राधिकठिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटशब्दास्तप्तमीसमर्थान् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikata.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसत = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic.'

आवसथात् छल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । आवसथशब्दास्तप्तमीसमर्थान् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ल् of छल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the छ् is for झीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्धिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितामिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्धितसंशब्दानाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुकनिष्पन्नो यत्प्रत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथः, युग्मः, प्रासङ्गः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन् द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेभ्यो वहतीत्येतस्मिन् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथ्यः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly जुग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथ्य ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढु therefore रथस्य वोढु will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV. 3. 121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्यः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. The word जुग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121), that जुग्य differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ल्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अजुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word जुगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here जुगं वहति राजा कलिं द्वापरं वा ॥

धुरो यद्दकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यत्-दकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् ढक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

77. The affix यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेखः (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sūtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराच्चान्नाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहत = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, रक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49), the samāsanta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सवधुरा ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुक् भवति ॥

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurā' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samāsānta अ, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शकटस्य वोढ = शकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीराड्ठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीराशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sīra,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, द्वैसैरिकः ॥

संज्ञायां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus जनी वहति = जन्वः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्वाः 'a bridesmaid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्वा lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c..

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विद्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चेदनुष्कारणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैद्याः (VI. 3. 53) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्ध् is formed from लभ् by लृट्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाणः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दाच्चादिति द्वितीयासमर्थात् लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दाच्चादिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = कान इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

पदमस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदम्-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा समर्थविभक्तिः । पदशब्दाव्ययमासमर्थार्थं दृश्यार्थोपाधिकास्मिन्नाति सप्तम्यर्थे व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन् = पदः कर्म 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पदः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means शक्यते ब्रह्म this being the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश् ॥

मूलमस्याबाहिं ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबाहिं-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दाव्ययमासमर्थार्थान्बाह्येवमुपाधिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे व्यत्ययो भवति । मूलनेषामाबाहिं ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबाहिं from बृह् 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादनं ॥ मूलनेषामाबाहिं = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. गुग्गुलु । मन्नाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamanjari the word should be आबाहिं and not आबाहिं, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञामहणमभिधेयानियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding णक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतबुध्वा ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते दशानि ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ज्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थार्थसंयुक्तादस्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवद्भानाम्यसमसमित सस्मितेषु ॥९१॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्य-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वद्भ्य-अनाम्य-सम-समित-सस्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽट्भ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽट्त्वेव तार्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादनेपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वद्धाः = विष्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix प्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which required यत्), means अभिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पदः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं=सीत्यं 'a field'. lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāsika. सीत्यं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्यं, उन्नमसीत्यं, द्विसीत्यं ॥
8. तुलया सम्मितं=तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. सम्मित means समानं, सदृशं ॥

Note :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or prāpya through 'dharma', may be said also dharmād anapetam because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sūtra. The 'anapetam' in the next sūtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Śhishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sūtra, as referred to by the word prāpya, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word anapeta of the next sūtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्योऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययः भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma', 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं=धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रीयान् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतइचोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'it,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायां (IV 4. 89) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः=छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'me re or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्कृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति अकाराद्यच्च ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरस 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sūtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्कृतीयासमर्थान् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देवः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sūtra also. and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्षौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋषौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणशृङ्गिमहणम् । बद्धाते येन तत्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्कृतीयासमर्थान्बन्धने ऋषावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनम् ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनशृङ्गि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकृद्भ्यु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प-कर्षेभ्यु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यश्चिन्त्यः शब्देभ्यश्चिन्त्येव करणादिषुर्धेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य कारणं=मैत्र्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः=जैन्यः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः=हैल्यः 'ploughed'. So also विहल्यः, चिहल्यः, the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सामनीसमर्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामन्त्र्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sâma-Veda'. So also वेमन्त्र्यः, कर्मण्यः, शारन्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person'. When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः=प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इदंयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अनुप्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताणः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दाण् णः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत् ; thus, भक्ते साधुः=भान्तः शालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भान्ता स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोण्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्शब्दाण् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः = क्राथिकः (कथा + ठक् = कथ् + ठक् VI. 4. 148 = काथ + इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा*, 4 संकथा*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ट विद्, कुष्टाचिद्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सद्ग्रह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेद. ॥

गुडादिभ्यष्टञ् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guda &c.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः = गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौलमाषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्रान्ति*, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः = पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयं 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाद्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः = सभ्यैः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

दृष्टछन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाद् दः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix **ढ** comes in the chhandas after 'the word 'sabhā,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars **य** ॥ Thus सभेयः in सभेयोस्य युवा यजमानस्य वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्)'

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुरिति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थशब्दाच्चनेति सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samâna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛtti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शायतः, आ-च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ओकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः* 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = समानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्य ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix **य** comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta as it was in the last; the udâtta here falls on य ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणासीनां घासीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, च &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words मेढ्यः and विदुष्य in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो मेढ्याय च विदुष्याय च ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ड्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाथश्चान्द्रीशब्दाच्च ड्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ड्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pāthas' and 'nadi,' whereby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यन् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः=पाथ्यः, so also नाद्यः ॥ As in the following hymns: तमुत्वा पाथ्यो वृषा, च नो दधीत नाद्यो गितो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तश्चान्द्रीमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यन् ॥ Thus वेशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हिमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यङ्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ड्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतश्चान्द्रीविभाषा ड्यत् ड्यङ्यौ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्यङ्यौ come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided:

This debars यन् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः=स्रोत्यः or स्रोत्यः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha ड causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यन् is added the form is स्रोतस्यः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतश्चान्द्रीभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayūtha' and sanuta.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभ्राता सर्गभ्यः 'a younger brother'. अनुसखासख्यः 'a younger friend'. So also योनः सनुत्यः उत वा जियन्तु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घञ् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुग्रशब्दात् घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix घञ् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus तुग्रियः as त्वमग्रे वृषभस् तुग्रियाणां ॥ Which assumes the form तुग्र्य-*tugrya* also. As आदः शमम् वृषभं तुग्र्यास्तु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) *Tugrya* meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुग्र means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

116. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus अग्रे भवं = अंग्र्यम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for यत् would have come after अग्र by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that यत् is not debarred by घ and छ of the next sūtra, which would have been the case, had this sūtra not existed.

घच्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घच्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् घच्छौ प्रत्ययो भवस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अंग्र्यम् (by यत्), अग्रियम् (by छ) and अग्रियम् (by घच्). And अंग्रियम् (by घञ्) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. I. 13. 10 (Śāyana) इहत्वष्टारमग्रियम् ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदादि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रशब्दाद्भ्राद्भ्राच्च घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus समुद्रियः and अभ्रियः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मणीषि-
णम् and नानदत्तो अभ्रियस्यैव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer
syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second
member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः शब्दास्तप्तमीसमर्थाद्विज्ञानित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in
construction.

The anuvṛitti of तत्र भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिव्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्मणि चाभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after
the word 'dūta' in the genitive case in construction, in the
sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'.
As यत्ते अग्ने दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the
accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयातूनां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यातूनाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातूनाम् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्धननीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yātu' in the
sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्ये and
यातव्ये meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yātus'. As
याते अग्ने रक्षस्या तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'.
So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः
प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatī', 'jagatī' and
'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the
Kait affix यत् to the root with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus इत्यस्यैव जगत्याम्

and हविष्यम् 'praising of Revati, Jagāti or Havishya'. The word हविष्यम् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the य् being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यस्यस्त्रीसमर्थस्त्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुरस्य 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुरस्ये वा एतत् पात्रं यच्चक्रधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुरस्ये देवेभिर्भाव्यं विद्मन् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यस्यस्त्रीसमर्थान्मायायां स्वविशेषे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = आसुरः feminine आसुरी ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वयमा कृताति ॥

**तद्भासासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासुलुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्भासा-
आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्भासिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मनुबन्तात्पातिपरिकाव्ययभासमर्थसासामिति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रयमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्य भवति । यत्तद्भासामिति निर्दिष्टनिष्टकाशेषा भवन्ति । लुक् च मन्त्रेभिर्नि प्रकृतिनिर्हासः । इतिकरणस्तत्तथेद्विवक्षा । तद्भासित्वव्ययेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'matup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sūtra requires analysis. तद्भास् is formed by adding मनुप् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मनुप् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इह meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks'. The whole sūtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (āsām), after a word which ends with matup (tadvān), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects ; when such mantra refers to bricks : and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्या (वर्चस्वान् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix यत् (मनुप्) being elided = वर्चस्य, fem वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvān mantra has been pronounced'. So तेजस्या उपधाति ॥ So पयस्याः, रेतस्याः ॥

Why do we say तद्वाङ् ? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up' ? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसानिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra ? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इष्टकासु ? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमान् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विरादौ यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽस्ति सोऽश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimān, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसानिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन् ॥ Thus आश्विनीरुपधाति 'he collects Aśvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नो-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्वानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति .

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mūrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhāna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मतुप् debaras यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्धन्, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ The present

sūtra ordains मनुप् after मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वैतीरुपवधाति 'he collects Mûrdhanvatī bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यासु? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mûrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mûrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्वाः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mûrdhan and vayas'.

The sūtra contains the word मूर्ध्निः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वतः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वत् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वत्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मनुप् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मनुप्प्रहितस्तस्मिन्भूतसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थं विशेषणयोः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरनन्तरार्थे वा ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुगकारेकाररेफाभ वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मनुप् and those having the sense of मनुप् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासः = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः मधव्यः, being the names of the months Pausha (Nov-Dec), Phalgun (Feb-March) and Vaisākha (April-May). The word मधव्यः is thus formed:--मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = मधव्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly औजस्य तन्वुः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमता पात्रेण चरति, here मनुप् is used.

Vart.—The affix वत् is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As मध्वस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = माधव्यः or माधवो मासः ॥

Vart.—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and ए serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभस् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes ए e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्जं च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुसहस्रान्मत्वर्थे अः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यर्थः ॥

129. The affix अ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus माधवः or मधव्यः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisākha. So also माधवाः, मधव्या and मधुः meaning तनूः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्खौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्यइत्येव । ओजः शाब्दान्मत्वर्ये यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽह्न्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and ख come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसीनं = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्यइत्येव । वेशोयशसी आदौ यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्ये यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yajas' in the beginning.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. I. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते अस्व स = वेशोर्भगः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोर्भगः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभगः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्ये खः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागो वयासंख्यनिरासार्थ उक्तार्थश्च । चकाराद्यत् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sūtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the वयासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोयश आदेर्भगाद् यत्खौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛitti of ख runs in the next sūtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वेः कृतमिनयौ च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वेः-कृत-इन-यौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्य इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशब्दात् कृतीयासमर्थकृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । चकारात् ख ॥

133. The affixes इन् and य् as well as ख come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) in the Instrumental case in construction

The ख is read into the sūtra by force of the word च; the anuvṛitti of मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्वभिः 'made by the ancestors' i. e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्व्यभिः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गङ्गाभीरेभिः पथिभिः पूर्वणेभिः ॥ So also, वे ते पन्थाः सविताः पूर्व्यासः (Rig I. 35. 11) Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनियौच; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य्; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of च ॥ The examples then will be पूर्व्यन्; 3rd pl. पूर्व्यभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्व्यभिः, or पूर्व्यणेः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (य) ॥

अङ्गिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अपञ्चशब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थात् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ब्रह्मत्वयो भवति ॥

134. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अप्यय् 'offering purified with water'. As ब्रह्मत्वमयं हविः ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

सहस्रेण संमितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-संमितौ-घ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रशब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थात् संमितौ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra', in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽप्यं नोर्मयः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word संमित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रशब्दाद् घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debarbs the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमशब्दाद्वितीयासमर्थाद्वर्हतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सौम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brāhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोममग्रहणं, यश्चानुवर्तते । मय इति मयड्यो लक्ष्यते । सोमशब्दास्त्वयड्ये यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकारावयवप्रकृता मयड्यौ ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of तत्तः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), एवकारावयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममयः मधुः ॥

मधोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशब्दो निवृत्तः । मधुशब्दास्त्वयड्ये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मधव्यान् स्तोकात् = मधुमयान् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुशब्दास्त्वग्रहे वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति एकारान्त्वयड्ये च । वयायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वर्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुशब्दादपि यद्वक्तव्यः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vārt.:—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस्यः in the following sentence: "सप्ताक्षराक्षरं छन्दस्यः प्रजापतियज्ञो मन्ये विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आवय, four; अस्तु औषद्, four; यज, two; वे यजा-महे five; and वषट् two ॥

Vārt.:—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As इस्तौ गृहीतस्य बहुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्य = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घः ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛtti of समूह does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवात्तात्तिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तात्तिल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिश्च and प्रदक्षिणिदेवतातिर्गुराणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम, अरिष्टस्य, करे (तात्तिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तत्सामर्थ्यलभ्या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by अच् (III. 1. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So शन्तातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As शाभिः शन्ताती भवन्थो वृद्धाशुषे (Rig I. 112. 20) शन्ताती being dual of शन्तातिः, and meaning सुखस्य कर्तारी; so also अथो अरिष्टतातये ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तात्तिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishṭa', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. शन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verbal nouns.